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ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. EDWARD EVERETT,

Secretary of State,

DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

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From
American Colonization Society
May 28, 1913.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENT. OF THE COL. SOCIETY:

It was my intention when I was requested some weeks ago, to take a part in the proceedings of this evening, to give the subject of the Colonization Society and its operations on the coast of Africa, the most thorough examination in my power, in all its bearings, considering that, whether we look to the condition of this country or the interests of Africa, no more important object could engage our attention. But during almost the whole of the interval that has since elapsed, my time and my thoughts have been so entirely taken up and preoccupied, that it has been altogether out of my power to give more than the hastiest preparation to the part which I am to take in this evening's proceedings. I am therefore obliged to throw myself upon the indulgence of this audience, with such a hasty view of the subject, as I have been alone able to take.

The Colonization Society seems to me to have been the subject of much unmerited odium, of much equally unmerited indifference on the part of the great mass of the community, and to have received that attention which it so well deserves, from but very few. We regard it now only in its infancy. All that we see in this country is the quiet operation of a private association, pursuing the even tenor of its way without ostentation, without eclat; and on the coast of Africa there is nothing to attract our attention but a small

settlement, the germ of a Republic, which, however prosperous, is but still in its infancy.

But before we deride even these small beginnings—before we make up our minds that the most important futurities are not wrapped up in them, even as the spreading oak is wrapped up in the small acorn which we can hold in our fingers, we should do well to recollect the first twenty-five or thirty years of the settlement at Jamestown, in your State, Mr. President, the parent of Virginia. We should do well to remember the history of that dreadful winter at Plymouth, when more than half the Mayflower's little company were laid beneath the sod, and that sod smoothed over for fear the native savage would come and count the number of the graves. I think if you look to what has been done in Liberia in the last quarter of a century, you will find that it compares favorably with the most and the best that was done in Virginia or in Plymouth, during the same period. These seem to me to be reasons why we should not look with too much distrust at the small beginnings that have been made.

Gentlemen, the foundation of this Society was laid in a great political and moral necessity. The measures which were taken for the suppression of the slave trade, naturally led to the capture of slave ships, and the question immediately arose what should be done with the victims that were rescued from them. It was necessary that they should be returned to Africa. They could not, each and all, be sent to their native villages. They had been collected from the whole interior of that country, many of them two thousand miles in the interior, and it was out of the question that they should immediately be sent to their homes. If they had been placed upon the coast, in a body, at any of the usual points of resort, the result would have been to throw them at once back again into the grasp of the native chiefs who are the principal agents of the slave trade. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary, if the course of measures undertaken for the suppression of the slave trade was to be pursued, that some Colony should be founded, under the name and influence and

patronage of a powerful European or American State, where these poor victims should be placed at once, safely protected, supplied with necessary provisions of all kinds, civilized if possible, and by degrees enabled to find their way back to their native villages, which some of them no doubt, both from the English and American Colony have from time to time done; as we know in fact that they have.

This, as I understand it, was one of the first ideas that gave origin to this Society, and as I said before, it was a political and moral necessity. Then came the kindred object, which was more important, because applicable to a much larger number of persons, of providing a suitable home for that portion of the colored population of this country that were desirous of emigrating to the land of their fathers. This at first, as I understand it, for it was before my day, was an object that approved itself almost universally throughout the country, to the South as well as to the North, to the white as well as to the colored population. Every body seemed to think at first that this was a practicable, desirable and most praiseworthy object. By degrees, I am sorry to say, jealousies crept in; prejudices, for so I must account them, arose; and in process of time, it has come to pass that this Society has become, I must say, intensely unpopular with a large class of the colored population whose interests and welfare were some of the prime objects of its foundation.

I will not undertake on this occasion to discuss the foundation of these prejudices. I will not dwell upon those, as they are called, oppressive laws, and that still more oppressive public sentiment in all parts of the country, which render the condition of the colored population in every part of the Union, one of disability, discouragement and hardship. In order to meet the objection to the operation of the Society which arises from the statement that it tends to coöperate with, and to strengthen these oppressive laws and this oppressive public sentiment, I will for argument's sake, take it for granted that this legislation and this sentiment are correctly thus characterized; that they are as oppressive, cruel and tyrannical as they are declared to be.

Taking this for granted, I ask in the name of common sense, in the name of humanity, does this state of things furnish any reason why the free colored population of the country, should be discouraged from leaving a state of things like this, and going to the land of their fathers, a continent of their own, where no such legislation, where no such unfriendly public sentiment would exist; a great and fertile land, a land that is inviting them to come and take possession of it, and in various parts of which there is everything that can attract and reward the industry of man? It seems to me that the objection which is urged to the Society, that it coöperates with that oppressive state of things here, furnishes the very strongest reason in favor of the emigration. Let us take a parallel case. Suppose any one had gone among that little company of persecuted Christians in England, in the year 1608, who afterward became the Pilgrim church of Mr. Robinson at Leyden; or suppose any one had gone in 1630 to the more important company of Gov. Winthrop, the great founder of Massachusetts; had tried to excite their feelings against the projected emigration; had told them that England belonged to them as much as it did to their oppressors; had led them to stand upon their rights, and if necessary bleed and die for them; had depicted the hardships and sufferings of the passage; had painted in the darkest colors, the terrors of the wilderness into which they were about to venture: would that have been true friendship, would it have been kindness, would it have been humanity? Or to come nearer home, suppose at the present day one should go into Ireland, or France, or Switzerland, or Germany, or Norway, or any of the countries from which hundreds of thousands of men, in a depressed, destitute and unhappy condition, are emigrating to the United States, to find a refuge, a home, a social position, and employment; suppose some one should go to them and try to stimulate a morbid patriotism, a bitter nationality, telling them the country where they were born, belonged as much to them as to the more favored classes, inducing them to stay where they were born, telling them that it was doubtful whether they would get employment in the

new country, talking of the expenses, the diseases, the hardships of the poor emigrant, and in this way endeavor to deter them from this great adventure, which is to end in procuring a home and a position in the world, and an education for themselves and their children : would this be friendship, would this be kindness, would this be humanity ? But these are the appeals which are made to the free colored population of this country, and it is by appeals like this that the Society and the colony have become, as I am sorry to say I believe is the case, highly unpopular among them.

But I must hasten on from this object of providing a home for the free colored population who wish to emigrate, to another which was a very considerable and leading object with the founders of this Society, and that is the suppression of the foreign slave trade. It is grievous to reflect, it is one of the darkest things that we read of in history, that contemporaneously with the discovery of this continent, and mainly from mistaken humanity toward the natives, the whole western coast of Africa was thrown open to that desolating traffic, which from time immemorial, had been carried on from the ports of the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Red Sea, and the shores of Eastern Africa. It is still more painful to reflect that it was precisely at the period when the best culture of modern Europe was moving rapidly toward its perfection, that the intercourse of Africa with Europe, instead of proving a blessing proved a curse. Have you well considered, Mr. President, that it was in the days of Shakspeare, and Spenser, and Hooker, and Bacon, and other bright suns in the firmament of the glory of England, that her navigators first began to go forth, and as if in derision, in vessels bearing the venerable names of "the Solomon" and "the Jesus," to the coast of Africa, to tear away its wretched natives into a state of bondage. It was at the very time when in England and France, the last vestiges of the feudal system were breaking down ; when private war was put an end to, and men began to venture out from the walled towns and dwell in safety in the open country, and to traverse the high roads without fear ; it was then that these most polished na-

tions began to enter into competition with each other, which should monopolize that cruel traffic, the African slave trade the principal agency of which was to stir up a system of universal hostility; not merely between nation and nation, but between tribe and tribe, clan and clan, family and family and often between members of the same household; for, am sorry to say, it is no unprecedented thing for these poor creatures to sell their wives and children to the slave trader.

In this way the whole western coast of Africa became like the northern and eastern coast before, one general mart for the slave trade. This lasted for three hundred years. At length the public sentiment of the world, in Europe and America, was awakened. Several of the colonial assemblies in this country passed acts inhibiting the slave trade, but they were uniformly negatived by the crown. The Continental Congress in 1776, denounced the traffic. The federal convention in 1789 fixed a prospective period for its abolition in this country. The example was followed by the states of Europe. At the present day, every Christian and several of the Mohammedan powers have forbidden it; yet it is extensively carried on, and some authorities say that the number of slaves taken from Africa has not seriously diminished; but I hope this is not true. This state of facts has led several persons most desirous of putting an end to the traffic, to devise some new system, some new agency; and all agree—there is not a dissenting voice on that point—that the most effectual, and in fact the only substitute is the establishment of colonies. Wherever a colony is established on the coast of Africa under the direction of a Christian power in Europe or America there the slave trade disappears; not merely from the coast of the colony, but from the whole interior of the country which found an outlet at any point on that coast. In this way, from the most northern extremity of the French and English colonies down to the most southern limit of the American settlements, the slave trade has entirely disappeared. The last slave mart in that region, the Gallinas, has within a short time, I believe, come within the jurisdiction of the American colony of Liberia. Now, along that whole

line of coast and throughout the whole interior connected with it, a line of coast, as I believe, not less than that from Maine to Georgia—from every port and every harbor of which the foreign slave trade was carried on—within the memory of man, it has entirely disappeared. What congresses of sovereigns at Vienna, and Aix-la-Chapelle, could not do; what squadrons of war steamers cruising along the coast could not achieve; what quintuple treaties among the powers of Europe could not effect by the arts of diplomacy, has been done by these poor little colonies, one of which at least, that of Liberia, has, in latter times, been almost without the recognition of this government, struggling into permanence by the resources furnished by private benevolence. (Applause.) I ask what earthly object of this kind more meritorious than this can be named? And what career is there opened to any colored man in Europe or America, more praiseworthy, more inviting than this, to form as it were, in his own person, a portion of that living cordon, stretching along the coast and barring its whole extent from the approaches of this traffic? (Applause.)

But even the suppression of the slave trade, all important as it is, is but auxiliary to another ulterior object of still more commanding importance, and that is the civilization of Africa. The condition of Africa is a disgrace to the rest of the civilized world. With an extent nearly three times as great as that of Europe; its known portions of great fertility, teeming with animal and vegetable life; traversed by magnificent chains of mountains, east and west, north and south, whose slopes send down the tributaries of some of the noblest rivers in the world; connecting on the north by the Mediterranean, with the ancient and modern culture of Europe; projecting on the west far into the Atlantic Ocean, that great highway of the world's civilization; running on the south-east into a near proximity to our own South American continent; open on the east to the trade of India and on the north-east, by the Red Sea and the Nile, locked closely into the Asiatic continent: one would have thought that with all these natural endowments, with this noble geographical

position, Africa was destined to be the emporium, the garden of the globe. Man alone in this unhappy continent has dropped so far into arrears in the great march of humanity, behind the other portions of the human family, that the question has at length been started whether he does not labor under some incurable, natural inferiority. In this, for myself, I have no belief whatever.

I do not deny that among the numerous races in the African continent, as among the numerous races in all the other continents, there are great diversities, from the politic and warlike tribes upon the central plateau, to the broken down hordes on the slave coast, and on the banks of the Congo, and the squalid, half human Hottentot. But do you think the difference is any greater between them than it is between the Laplander, the Gipsy, the Calmuc, and the proudest and brightest specimens of humanity in Europe or America? I think not.

What then can be the cause of the continued uncivilization of Africa? Without attempting presumptuously to pry into the mysteries of Providence, I think that adequate causes can be found in some historical and geographical circumstances. It seems a law of human progress, which however difficult to explain, is too well sustained by facts to be doubted, that in the first advances out of barbarism into civilization, the first impulses and guidances must come from abroad. This of course, leaves untouched the great mystery who could have made a beginning; but still, as far back as history or tradition runs, we do find that the first guidance and impulse came from abroad. From Egypt and Syria the germs of improvement were brought to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to the north and west of Europe, from Europe to America, and they are now spreading on from us to the farthest West, until at length it shall meet the East again. To what extent the aboriginal element shall be borne down and overpowered by the foreign influences, or enter into kindly combinations with them, depends upon the moral and intellectual development of both parties. There may be such aptitude for improvement, or the disparity between the native

and foreign race may be so small, that a kindly combination will at once take place. This is supposed to have been the case with the ancient Grecian tribes in reference to the emigrants from Egypt and the East. Or the inaptitude may be so great, and the disparity between the natives and the foreigners may be so wide, that no such kindly union can take place. This is commonly supposed to be the case with the natives of our own continent, who are slowly and silently retiring before the inroads of a foreign influence.

Now, in reference to this law of social progress, there have been in Africa two most unfortunate difficulties. In the first place, all the other branches of the human family that have had the start of Africa in civilization, have, from the very dawn of history, been concerned in the slave trade; so that intercourse with foreigners, instead of being a source of mutual improvement to both parties, particularly to the weaker, has, in the case of Africa, only tended to sink them deeper into barbarism and degeneracy of every kind. This has been one difficulty. Another is the climate—this vast equatorial expanse—this aggregate of land between the tropics, greater than all the other parts of the globe together—her fervid vertical sun, burning down upon the rank vegetation of her fertile plains, and rendering her shores and water courses pestiferous to a foreign constitution. This circumstance also seems to shut Africa out from the approaches of civilization through the usual channels. The ordinary inducements of gain, are too weak to tempt the merchant to those feverous shores. Nothing but a taste for adventure, approaching to mania, attracts the traveler; and when Christian benevolence allures the devoted missionary to this field of labor, it lures him too often to his doom.

By this combination of influences, Africa seems to have been shut out, from the beginning, from all those benefits that otherwise result from foreign intercourse. But now, mark and reverence the Providence of God, educing out of these disadvantages of climate, (disadvantages as we consider them,) and out of this colossal, moral wrong—the foreign slave trade—educing out of these seemingly hopeless elements

of physical and moral evil, after long cycles of crime and suffering, of violence and retribution, such as history no where else can parallel—educing, I say, from these almost hopeless elements, by the blessed alchemy of Christian love, the ultimate means of the regeneration of Africa. (Applause.)

The conscience of the Christian world at last was roused; an end it was determined should be put to the foreign slave trade; but not till it had conveyed six millions of the children and descendants of Africa to the Western Hemisphere, of whom about one and a half millions have passed into a state of freedom; though born and educated, no doubt, under circumstances unfavorable for moral or intellectual progress, sharing in the main, the blessings and the lights of our common Christian civilization, and proving themselves, in the example of the Liberian colony, amply qualified to be the medium of conveying these blessings to the land of their fathers.

Thus, you see at the very moment when the work is ready to commence, the instruments are prepared. Do I err in supposing that the same august Providence which has arranged, or has permitted the mysterious sequence of events to which I have referred, has also called out, and is inviting those chosen agents to enter upon the work? Everything else has been tried and failed. Commercial adventure on the part of individuals has been unsuccessful; strength, courage, endurance, almost superhuman, have failed; well appointed expeditions, fitted out under the auspices of powerful associations and powerful governments, have ended in the most calamitous failure; and it has been proved at last, by all this experience, that the white race of itself, can not civilize Africa.

Sir, when that most noble expedition, I think in 1841, was fitted out, under the highest auspices in England, to found an agricultural colony at the confluence of the Niger and the Chad, out of one hundred and fifty white persons that formed a part of it, every man sickened, and all but three or four died. On the other hand, out of one hundred and fifty colored men, that formed part of the expedition, only three or four sickened, and they were men who had passed some years in

the West Indies, and in Europe, and not one died. I think that fact, in reference to the civilization of Africa is worth, I had almost said, all the treasure, and all the suffering of that ill-fated expedition.

Sir, you can not civilize Africa—you Caucasian—you proud white man—you all-boasting, all-daring Anglo-Saxon, you can not do this work. You have subjugated Europe; the native races of this country are melting before you as the untimely snows of April beneath a vernal sun; you have possessed yourself of India; you threaten China and Japan; the farthest isles of the Pacific are not distant enough to escape your grasp, or insignificant enough to elude your notice: but this great Central Africa lies at your doors and defies your power. Your war steamers and your squadrons may range along the coast, but neither on the errands of peace, nor on the errands of war, can you penetrate into and long keep the interior. The God of nature, for purposes inscrutable, but no doubt to be reconciled with His wisdom and goodness, has drawn a cordon across the chief inlets, that you can not pass. You may hover on the coast, but woe to you if you attempt to make a permanent lodgment in the interior. Their poor mud-built villages will oppose no resistance to your arms; but death sits portress at their undefended gates. Yellow fevers, and blue plagues, and intermittent poisons, that you can see as well as feel, hover in the air. If you attempt to go up the rivers, pestilence shoots from the mangroves, that fringe their noble banks; and the all-glorious sun that kindles everything else into life and power, darts down disease and death into your languid frame. No, no, Anglo-Saxon, this is no part of your vocation. You may direct the way, you may survey the coast, you may point your finger into the interior; but you must leave it to others to go and abide there. The God of nature, in another branch of his family, has chosen out the instruments of this great work—the descendants of the torrid clime, children of the burning vertical sun—and fitted them by centuries of stern discipline for this most noble work—

From foreign realms and land remote,
 Supported by His care,
 They pass unharmed through burning climes,
 And breathe the tainted air.

Sir, I believe that Africa will be civilized, and civilized by the descendants of those who were torn from the land. I believe it because I will not think that this great fertile continent is to be forever left waste. I believe it because I see no other agency fully competent to the work. I believe it because I see in this agency a most wonderful adaptation.

But doubts are entertained of the practicability of effecting this object by the instrumentality that I have indicated. They are founded in the first place, on the supposed incapacity of the free colored population of this country and the West Indies to take up and carry on such a work; and also on the supposed degradation and, if I may use such a word, unimprovability of the native African races, which is presumed to be so great as to bid defiance to any such operation.

Now, I think it would be very unjust to the colored population of this country and the West Indies, to argue from what they have done under present circumstances, to what they might effect under the most favorable circumstances. I think, upon the whole, all things considered, that they have done quite as well as could be expected; that they have done as well as persons of European or Anglo-American origin would have done after three centuries of similar depression and hardship. You will recollect, sir, that Mr. Jefferson, in his valuable work, called "The Notes on Virginia," states in strong language the intellectual inferiority of the colored race. I have always thought that it ought to have led Mr. Jefferson to hesitate a little as to the accuracy of this opinion, when he recollected that in the very same work he was obliged to defend the Anglo-American race, to which he himself, and to which so many of us belong, against the very same imputation, brought by an ingenious French writer, the Abbé Raynal, whose opinions were shared by all the school of philosophers to which he belonged. Why, it is not but a very few years—I do not know that the time has now ceased—

when we Anglo-Americans were spoken of by our brethren beyond the water, as a poor, degenerate, almost semi-barbarous race. In the liberal journals of England, within thirty years, the question has been contemptuously asked, in reference to the native country of Franklin, and Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Marshall; of Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Ticknor, Bryant, and Cooper, Longfellow, and Hawthorne, and hosts of others: "Who reads an American book?" It seems to me, in view of facts like this, we ought to be a little cautious how we leap to the conclusion that the free colored African race is necessarily in a condition of hopeless inferiority.

Then in reference to the other difficulty about the unimprovability of the African. It is said that the Africans alone of all the branches of the human family have never been able to rise out of barbarism. Sir, I do not know that; I do not think that any body knows it. An impenetrable cloud hangs over the early history of mankind in every part of the globe. We well know in reference to the whole North and West of Europe, and a great part of the South of Europe, that it was utterly barbarous until the light of the Roman civilization shone in upon it, and in comparatively recent times. We also know that in very early times one of the native African races, I mean the Egyptians, attained a high degree of culture. They were the parents of all the arts of Greece, and through them of the ancient world. The Egyptians were a colored race. They did not belong to the negro type; but still they were purely a colored race, and if we should judge of their present condition, as unimprovable as any of the tribes of Central Africa. Yet we find upon the banks of the Nile, the massive monuments of their cheerless culture that have braved the storms of time more successfully than the more graceful structures of Rome and of Greece.

It is true that some nations who have emerged from barbarism at a later period, have attained the precedence over Africa, and have kept it to the present day; but I am not willing to believe that this arises from causes so fixed and permanent in their nature, that no reversal, at no length,

of time, is to be hoped from their operation. We are led into error by contemplating things too much in the gross. There are tribes in Africa which have made no contemptible progress in various branches of human improvement. On the other hand, if we look at the population of Europe—if we cast our eyes from Lisbon to Archangel, from the Hebrides to the Black Sea—if for a moment we turn our thoughts from the few who are born to wealth, and its consequent advantages, culture, education, and that lordship over the forces of nature which belongs to cultivated mind—if we turn from these to the benighted, oppressed, destitute, superstitious, ignorant, suffering millions, who pass their lives in the hopeless toil of the field, the factory and the mine; whose inheritance from generation to generation is beggary; whose education from sire to son is stolid ignorance; at whose daily table hunger and thirst are the stewards; whose occasional festivity is brutal intemperance—if we could count their numbers—if we could sum up together in one frightful mass, all their destitution of the comforts and blessings of life, and thus form an estimate of the practical barbarism of the nominally civilized portions of the world, we should, I think, come to the conclusion that this supposed in-bred essential superiority of the European races does not really exist.

If there be any such essential superiority, why has it been so late in showing itself? It is said that the Africans have persisted in their barbarism for four or five thousand years. Europe persisted in her barbarism for three or four thousand years, and in the great chronology of Divine Providence, we are taught that a thousand years are but as one day. Sir, it is only ten centuries since the Anglo-Saxons, to whose race we are so fond of claiming kindred, were as barbarous and uncivilized as many of the African tribes. They were a savage, ferocious, warlike people; pirates at sea, bandits on shore; slaves of the most detestable superstitions; worshipping idols as cruel and ferocious as themselves. And as to the foreign slave trade, it is but eight centuries, and perhaps less, since there was as much slave trade in proportion, upon the coast of Great Britain as in the Bight of Benin at the present day.

The natives of England eight centuries ago, were bought and sent to the slave marts, in the south and west of Europe. At length the light of Christianity shone in; refinement, civilization, letters, arts, and by degrees all the delights, all the improvements of life followed in their train, and now we talk with the utmost self-complacency of the essential superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and look down with disdain upon those portions of the human family, who have lagged a little behind us in the march of civilization.

Africa at the present day is not in that state of utter barbarism, which popular opinion ascribes to it. Here again, we do not sufficiently discriminate. We judge in the gross. Certainly there are tribes wholly broken down by internal wars, and the detestable foreign slave trade; but this is not the character of the entire population. They are not savages. Most of them live by agriculture. There is some traffic between the coast and the interior. Many of the tribes have a respectable architecture, though of a rude kind, but still implying some progress of the arts. Gold dust is collected; iron is smelted and wrought; weapons and utensils of husbandry and household use are fabricated; cloth is woven and dyed; palm oil is expressed; there are schools; and among the Mohammedan tribes the Koran is read. You, Mr. President, well remember that twenty-one years ago, you and I saw in one of the committee rooms of yonder Capitol, a native African, who had been forty years a field slave in the West Indies and in this country, and wrote at the age of seventy the Arabic character, with the fluency and the elegance of a scribe. Why, sir, to give the last test of civilization, Mungo Park tells us in his journal that in the interior of Africa lawsuits are argued with as much ability, as much fluency, and at as much length as in Edinburgh. (Laughter and applause.)

Sir, I do not wish to run into paradox on this subject. I am aware that the condition of the most advanced tribes of Central Africa is wretched, mainly, in consequence of the slave trade. The only wonder is, that with this cancer eating into their vitals from age to age, any degree of civilization whatever can exist. But degraded as the ninety millions of

Africans are, I presume you might find in the aggregate, on the continent of Europe, another ninety millions as degraded, to which each country in that quarter of the globe would contribute its quota. The difference is, and it is certainly an all-important difference, that in Europe, intermingled with these ninety millions, are fifteen or twenty millions possessed of all degrees of culture up to the very highest, while in Africa there is not an individual who, according to our standard, has attained a high degree of intellectual culture; but if obvious causes for this can be shown, it is unphilosophical to infer from it an essential incapacity.

But the question seems to me to be put at rest, by what we all must have witnessed of what has been achieved by the colored race in this country and on the coast of Africa. Unfavorable as their position has been for any intellectual progress, we still all of us know that they are competent to the common arts and business of life, to the ingenious and mechanical arts, to keeping accounts, to the common branches of academical and professional culture. Paul Cuffee's name is familiar to everybody in my part of the country, and I am sure you have heard of him. He was a man of uncommon energy and force of character. He navigated to Liverpool his own vessel, manned by a colored crew. His father was a native African slave; his mother was a member of one of the broken down Indian tribes, some fragments of which still linger in the corners of Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of that native African Prince, Abdul Rahhman. If there was ever a native-born gentleman on earth he was one. He had the port and the air of a prince, and the literary culture of a scholar. The learned Blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has attained a celebrity scarcely inferior to his white brother, who is known by the same designation. When I lived in Cambridge a few years ago, I used to attend, as one of the Board of Visitors, the examinations of a classical school, in which there was a colored boy, the son of a slave in Mississippi, I think. He appeared to me to be of pure African blood. There were at the same time two youths from Geor-

gia, and one of my own sons, attending the same school. I must say that this poor negro boy, Beverly Williams, was one of the best scholars at the school, and in the Latin language he was the best scholar in his class. These are instances that have fallen under my own observation. There are others I am told which show still more conclusively the capacity of the colored race for every kind of intellectual culture.

Now look at what they have done on the coast of Africa. Think of the facts that were spread before you in that abstract of the Society's doings, which was read this evening. It is only twenty-five or thirty years since the little colony was founded under the auspices of this Society. In that time what have they done; or rather let me ask what have they not done? They have established a well-organized constitution of republican government, which is administered with ability and energy in peace, and by the unfortunate necessity of circumstances, also in war. They have courts of justice, modeled after our own; schools, churches, and lyceums. Commerce is carried on, the soil is tilled, communication is open to the interior. The native tribes are civilized; diplomatic relations are creditably sustained with foreign powers; and the two leading powers of Europe, England and France, have acknowledged their sovereignty and independence. Would the same number of persons taken principally from the laboring classes, of any portion of England, or Anglo-America, done better than this?

Ah! sir, there is an influence at work through the agency of this Society, and other Societies, and through the agency of the colony of Liberia, and others, which I hope will be established, sufficient to produce these and still greater effects. I mean the influence of pure, unselfish Christian love. This after all, is the only influence that can never fail. Military power will at times be resisted, and overcome. Commercial enterprise, however well planned, may be blasted. State policy, however deep, may be outwitted; but pure, unselfish, manly, rather let me say heavenly love, never did, and in the long run never will fail. (Applause.) It is a truth which this

Society ought to write upon its banners, that it is not political nor military power, but the moral sentiment, principally under the guidance and influence of religious zeal, that has in all ages civilized the world. Arms, craft, and mammon, lie in wait, and watch their chance, but they can not poison its vitality. Whatever becomes of the question of intellectual superiority, I should insult this audience, if I attempted to argue that in the moral sentiments, the colored race stand upon an equality with us. I read a year or two ago in a newspaper, an anecdote which illustrates this in so beautiful and striking a manner, that, with your permission, I will repeat it.

When the news of the discovery of gold reached us from California, a citizen of the upper part of Louisiana, from the Parish of Rapides, for the sake of improving his not prosperous fortunes, started with his servant to get a share, if he could, of the golden harvest. They repaired to the gold regions. They labored together for a while with success. At length the strength of the master failed, and he fell dangerously sick. What then was the conduct of the slave in those far off hills? In a State whose constitution did not recognize slavery, in that newly gathered and not very thoroughly organized state of society, what was his conduct? As his master lay sick with the typhus fever, Priest and Levite came, and looked upon him, and passed by on the other side. The poor slave stood by him, tended him, protected him; by night and by day his sole companion, nurse, and friend. At length the master died. What then was the conduct of the slave in those distant wastes, as he stood by him whom living he had served, but who was now laid low at his feet by the great Emancipator? He dug his decent grave in the golden sands. He brought together the earnings of their joint labor; these he deposited in a place of safety as a sacred trust for his master's family. He then went to work under a Californian sun to earn the wherewithal to pay his passage home. That done, he went back to the banks of the Red River, in Louisiana, and laid down the little store at the feet of his master's widow. (Applause.)

Sir, I do not know whether the story is true; I read it in a public journal. The Italians have a proverbial saying of a tale like this, that if it is not true, it is well invented. This, sir, is too good to be invented. It is, it must be true. That master and that slave ought to live in marble and in brass, and if it was not presumptuous in a person like me so soon to pass away and to be forgotten, I would say their memory shall never perish.

Fortunati ambo ! si quid mea carmina possint,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

There is a moral treasure in that incident. It proves the capacity of the colored race to civilize Africa. There is a moral worth in it, beyond all the riches of California. If all her gold—all that she has yet yielded to the indomitable industry of the adventurer, and all that she locks from the cupidity of man, in the virgin chambers of her snow-clad sierras—were all molten into one vast ingot, it would not, in the sight of Heaven, buy the moral worth of that one incident. (Applause.)

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society, I crave your pardon for this long intrusion upon your patience. I have told you—pardon that word, you knew it before—I have reminded you of the importance of the work, of the instrumentality by which it is to be effected, of the agents chosen, as I think, in the councils of Heaven to carry it into effect; and now what remains for us, for every friend of humanity, but to bid God speed to the undertaking?

[The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud and long continued applause.]

NOTE. I perceive from a note to the foregoing speech as republished in the Colonial Herald, that in speaking from memory of the Expedition to the Niger in 1841, I considerably overrated the mortality among the whites. Nearly every white member of the expedition was disabled by sickness from the performance of duty; but forty only died. This mortality, however, required the immediate abandonment of the enterprise. E. E.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION—ITS PRINCIPLES
AND AIMS.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

President of the American Colonization Society,

AT THE

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZA-
TION SOCIETY HELD IN THE SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON CITY,

JANUARY 18, 1859.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY.

1859.

THE following Address was delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the American Colonization Society, held at the Smithsonian Institute, in the City of Washington, on the Evening of the 18th of January, 1859. It has since, in pursuance of what appeared to be the wish of the Meeting, and at the invitation of the friends of Colonization in those Cities, been repeated in Richmond, Va.—Elizabeth City, New Jersey,—New York, Albany, Harrisburg, Cincinnati and Philadelphia. It is now published in accordance with the resolution of the Anniversary Meeting. Its principal object is to exhibit Colonization in what is believed to be its true aspect,—as a scheme, which, fitted to the circumstances of our country, must rely on the natural course of events for its full development, in a voluntary, cheerful, self-paying emigration of the free people of color to Africa,—the result of their own conviction that they will better their condition by removal, while they, at the same time, establish a separate and honorable nationality, pregnant with the happiest promise.

COLONIZATION:

ITS PRINCIPLES AND AIMS.

FORTY-TWO years ago, the Rev. Robert Finley of New Jersey developed, in the City of Washington, the idea of planting a colony in Africa, that might induce the free people of color "to go and settle there."*

* It is not to be inferred from what is said in the text, which has reference to the organization of the American Colonization Society only, that Mr. Finley originated the idea of a Colony, such as was afterwards established, on the Coast of Africa. The idea belongs to others. It was Finley, however, who developed and made it available, as stated above. Brissot, in 1788, travelling in the United States, met Dr. Thornton, who told him of "the efforts which he had made for the execution of a vast project conceived by him. Persuaded that there never could exist a sincere union between the whites and blacks, even on admitting the latter to the rights of freemen, he proposed to send them back," says the traveller, "and establish them in Africa." "He, (Dr. Thornton) proposed," continues Brissot, "to be the conductor of the American negroes who should repair to Africa. He proposed to unite them to the new colony of Sierra

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He was moved, he said, by "their increasing numbers and their increasing wretchedness."

Commended by some, ridiculed by others, but proclaiming to all that he knew the scheme was from God, he persevered, until in December, 1816, the American Colonization Society was organized. Here, his existence seemed to culminate. He then went home and died. Before the exploring expedition sailed, he was in his grave. We meet, to night, to report progress in his plan.

We have been gradually advancing in the prosecution of it. If our steps have been unequal, they have been unfaltering. The colony has become a Republic. Recognized by many among the leading nations of the world, it is now known every where as the independent government of Liberia.

It is still feeble, but it stands alone. It possesses the elements of future strength. It has good laws well administered, churches and schools, the mutual aid societies of more advanced communities, agricultural exhibitions even, with their annual

Leone. He had sent, at his own expense into Africa, a well instructed man, who had spent several years in observing the productions of the country, the manufacturers most suitable for it, the plan most convenient, and the measures necessary to be taken to secure the Colony from insults," &c., &c., &c.—*Brissot's Travels—Mavor's Compilation*, 19 vol. pp. 190, 261.

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prizes,—a militia tried and not found wanting, a traffic with the interior, a foreign commerce. Light houses guide ships into the ports to substitute for the slave trade something better in the sight of God and man.

With a government modelled after our own, with rulers chosen, and well chosen too, thus far, by themselves, with a soil to which they are akin, capable of self-support, self-government and self-defence, the people of Liberia are slowly developing a distinct nationality. No longer mere emigrants from the United States experimenting doubtfully, they are Liberians, Americo-Liberians as their phrase is, looking forward to a future of their own. Fast losing our traditions, they aim at becoming historical themselves. Meanwhile, with steady purpose, they pursue quietly and honorably the course of their destiny.

The first condition of Colonization has thus been fulfilled. It remains to be seen whether the second will be accomplished: whether the free people of color will be induced, in Finley's words, to "go and settle" in the home that has been prepared for them, thus bringing about the avowed object of our organization, "their removal with their own consent to Africa."

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To prepare for, and facilitate this removal, we have been more than forty years at work.

The census of 1820 gave a free colored population of 233,534. In 1850, it amounted to 434,495. It is now, probably, half a million. It has more than doubled since our Society was founded ; while the emigrants in Liberia and their descendants do not exceed twelve thousand souls. Not a twentieth part of the increase has been removed by us. Our toil, apparently, has resulted in less than "a drop in the bucket." How vain then, say our unfriends, must be our efforts for the removal of the mass.

We admit it frankly. We go further: we admit, that if such removal depended upon the American Colonization Society, even though Congress threw open to it the treasury of the nation, the work would never be accomplished, and the scheme would be the delusion it has so often been proclaimed.

This, however, is not the true view of Colonization. Money alone may suffice to plant a colony and facilitate the earlier emigration: but it is powerless to control the affections ; powerless to sever the ties that bind to hearth-stone and grave-stone, to give the weak strength, the timid

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confidence. And yet, all this must be effected in the transplantation of a people.

The reliance of Colonization, in this regard, is neither upon strength of organization, nor boundlessness of resource, but upon one of the commonest of all the impulses of humanity—THE DESIRE TO BETTER ONE'S CONDITION.

It is this which brings the European to America,—which takes the Englishman to Asia and Australia. Clive and Warren Hastings owed it their wealth and their renown. It has built up for us, in ten years, an empire, in resources and extent, on the Pacific. IT WILL CARRY TO AFRICA EVERY FREE PERSON OF COLOR IN AMERICA.

They will go there, not because fascinated by the eloquence of Colonization Agents; not for want of love to the land they leave; but they will go "to better their condition."

They will go, too, ultimately, when the exodus of the mass takes place, at their own expense. Commerce will furnish the ships to carry them; thus acquitting itself, in part, of the debt contracted to the race when it brought them originally to our shores.

All that Colonization has done, or aimed at doing, has been in view of this voluntary, self-

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paying, ultimate, emigration; an emigration that finds its precedents in the history of every people, from the nomadic tribe, whose encampment shifts with failing springs or withering pasturages, to the community that, driven by religious persecution from the old world, landed from the Mayflower, or that which encountered the perils of Cape Horn attracted by the gold fields of California.

In this, the true aspect of Colonization, it is independent of the shewings of the census. It is to be judged, rather, by what has been already effected in Africa, and by the probable future of the free people of color in America.

Were Africa as attractive to the latter as America is to the European, and it is in the power of Colonization Societies, with their limited means even, to make it so,—or, were the repulsions of this country to influence them, as do those, for example, of Great Britain, the Irish, the emigration to Liberia, for a single year, of the same numbers that commerce, in a single year, has brought from the old world to the new, would suffice for the removal of the free; and a like emigration, continued for some seven or eight years, for the removal of both slave and free, were

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both at liberty to depart. Doubling the time, to allow for increase during the process, and the entire removal would fall within twenty years.

But so speedy a removal is impossible. The case is put for illustration only. Years must elapse before the increase even can be approximated. Time and circumstances, however, are competent to the work. Time, so powerful, so unheeded. Circumstances, beyond all control, and which time is rendering irresistible.

We have, here, two distinct races, the white and the colored: the latter, originally slaves, consisting now of slaves and freemen.

The slave—protected, provided with food, shelter and raiment, treated in the vast majority of cases kindly, affectionately often—is without care as regards his physical wants, and with constitutional good humor passes happily, in the main, through life.

The free, on the other hand, without an especial protector, dependant upon himself alone, living, as the bills of mortality seem to shew, a shorter life than the slave,* and made to feel in a thousand

* The increase of the colored population in what are called the free States and Territories, from 1840 to 1850, was 14.38 per cent., throughout the United States it was but 12.47; the slave popula-

ways his social and political inferiority, either frets away existence in aspirations, which, here, can never be realized, or, yielding hopelessly to circumstances, falls with benumbed faculties into a condition that is little better than the slave's.

Colonization concerns itself with the free alone. Their condition has long been appreciated. As early as 1788, "Brissot, hight de Warville, friend of the blacks," as Carlyle calls him, travelling in this country, says of them, that "deprived of the hope of rising to places of honor or trust, they seem condemned to drag out their days in a state of servility."* Finley dwelt on their "increasing

non having, within the same period, increased 28.82 per cent., and the white population 37.74 per cent.—*See the Census Returns*, 1850.

From the 14.38 per cent. increase, here credited to the free colored population in the free States, &c., a considerable deduction must be made for emigration from slave-holding States, where emancipated slaves are not permitted to remain, and from which escapes are of constant occurrence. It may be doubted if the increase by births among the colored population of the North is one per cent per annum. Be this, however, as it may, the returns of the census, above quoted, authorise the statement of the text in this regard.

* The entire passage is as follows. Brissot is speaking of Dr. Thornton. "This ardent friend of the blacks, says he, is persuaded, that we cannot hope to see a sincere union between them and the whites, as long as they differ so much in color and in their rights as citizens. He attributes to no other cause the apathy perceivable in many blacks, even in Massachusetts where they are free. Deprived of the hope of electing or being elected, or of rising to places of honor and

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numbers and increasing wretchedness," in 1815.* The Society's first memorial to Congress, in 1817, signed by its great and good President, Judge Washington, refers to their condition as "low and hopeless." It was worse than it had been; for La Fayette, when here in 1824, is reported to have remarked upon its deterioration as compared with what it was at the Revolution. That it was universally recognized as bad, and that the hope of

trust, the negroes seemed condemned to drag out their days in a state of servility, or to languish in shops of retail. The whites reproach them with a want of cleanliness, indolence and inattention. But how can they be industrious and active, while an insurmountable barrier separates them from other citizens?"—*Brissot's Travels, in Mavor's Compilation of Voyages and Travels, vol. 19, pp. 260, 261.*

* The following extract from a letter from Mr. Finley to Mr. John P. Mumford of New York, affords the earliest evidence we have of his views in regard to Colonization.

DEAR SIR,

BASKING RIDGE, Feb. 14, 1815.

The longer I live to see the wretchedness of man, the more I admire the nature of those, who desire, and with patience, labor to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Everything connected with their condition, including their color, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever greatly be meliorated while they remain among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the Coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established, &c.*—*African Repository, vol. 1, p. 2.*

improving it was a leading motive with the earlier Colonizationists, in 1816, is unquestionable.

And yet, in 1816, and for years afterwards, the days were halcyon days, comparatively, for the free people of color. No strife with the whites for employment then. There was work for all. No feeling of antagonism between the races. The foreign immigration immaterial, to the colored man's great relief. Certain kinds of labor his, by prescription. In competition with the whites, he most frequently the favored one. Societies to protect him from imposition, every where. Affections born at the breasts of slave nurses, fostered when playing with slave children, still lingered around the race made free.

But what is their condition now? In individual cases, the free man of color is wondrously improved. Better educated is he; more refined; with appreciative tastes, an elevated ambition, comfortable means, wealth, often. It would seem, indeed, that while Liberia was being built up, the race that were to rule it had been vindicating, in anticipation, their capacity to conduct affairs with intelligence and success. And yet, the condition of the free colored population, as a class, is inferior, far, to what it was in 1816.

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They have been the victims of riots in more than one Northern and Western City. Excluded from many an accustomed calling, practically if not legally, in New York; no longer stevedores, caulkers or coal heavers in Baltimore, or fireman on the South Western waters, or levee laborers in New Orleans; crowded out of employment in the great hotels; disappearing as domestics in private families, they find, by sad experience, how irresistible is a white competition in a strife for bread. Legislation, too, has been invoked to straighten their condition. To prevent their increase, emancipations have been prohibited. Strenuous and continuous efforts, made under favorable circumstances, to put them on a footing of social equality with the whites, have resulted only in increasing public prejudice.* Courts of justice have recognised the existence of this feeling,† and even in

* A resolution, introduced in the Board of Education of Newark, N. J., to grant the colored population the same privileges and benefits in the public schools as the whites enjoy, was, after a warm discussion, negatived by a vote of 12 to 5.—*Colonization Herald, Philadelphia, March, 1859*

† In the case of McCrea (colored) *vs.* Marsh, lessee of the Howard Athenæum, Boston, the Supreme Court, on the 4th inst. sustained the verdict for the Defendant. The Plaintiff, in face of the regulation excluding colored people, purchased a ticket for the "dress circle," and when he was refused admission at the entrance he attempted

those States, which boast peculiar sympathies in their behalf, the distinction of caste pervades practically, so far as they are concerned, the entire community, both socially and politically

And why should all this be? Why, at least, have the free colored people not been permitted to maintain the kindlier relations, indifferent as they were, of half a century ago? Personally, they have not deteriorated in the interval. They voted in Maryland up to 1809; and the popular almanac, at the beginning of the present century, in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, was the work of Benjamin Banneker, an individual of unmixed African descent. Why then the change in question?

There is but one cause to which it can be attributed,—the increase of our aggregate population. The two races are coming, day by day, into closer contact. Collisions, of old unknown, are beginning to occur between the masses of the respective populations. The old story of the Spaniard and the Moor is being re-enacted in our midst. We are but illustrating the law that invariably pre-

to crowd in, and was put out of the building, no more force having been used than was necessary to eject him from the premises.—*Colonization Herald*, March, 1859.

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vails, where two races that cannot amalgamate by intermarriage occupy the same land.

“This it is, and nothing more.”

In the State of Maryland, for example, there is already a redundant free colored population, amounting to thirteen per cent. of the aggregate! In Pennsylvania, the proportion is but two and three-tenths per cent. In Massachusetts, less than one per cent. In Connecticut, less than two per cent. In Ohio, one and three-tenths per cent. In New York, one and six-tenths per cent. There are more free people of color in the slave State of Maryland than in the great free States of Ohio and New York put together.* To Maryland, therefore, rather than to any other State, may we look for the consequences of that increase in the aggregate of population, to which we have attributed the change for the worse, which, in fifty years,

* Extract from Table XII. of the Census of 1850.—*Quarto Edition, page xxxiii.*

	White.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
Maryland,.....	417,943	74,723	90,368	583,034
Pennsylvania, ...	2,258,160	53,626	————	2,311,786
Massachusetts,....	985,450	9,064	————	994,514
Connecticut,	363,099	7,693	————	370,792
Ohio,.....	1,955,050	25,279	————	1,980,329
New York,.....	3,048,325	49,669	————	3,097,394

has taken place in the condition of the free people of color.

And what is the experience of Maryland? Of Maryland, whose kindness, practically, to the class in question, is to be inferred from the crowd that has collected within her borders. Of Maryland—which has expended more than a quarter of a million in promoting Colonization, and which, when unable for a season to pay the interest on her public debt, never withheld for an instant her annual subsidy of ten thousand dollars to the feeble colony, that had been founded under her auspices on the coast of Africa.* All her legislation looks to the necessity of separation. Laws, already stringent, are sought to be made still more so; and the reasons given by men of high character, assembled in Convention on the Eastern Shore of the State, all resolve themselves into the “existence of the present immense number of free negroes.”

Nor is Maryland alone in these views. A winter rarely passes without the introduction into State Legislatures of measures prejudicial to the free

* The Colony at Cape Palmas, commenced in 1834 by the Maryland State Colonization Society, long known as Maryland in Liberia, now incorporated with the Republic of Liberia.

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people of color? And even where there is no legislative action, there is an unwillingness to see their numbers multiply, which, year after year, is becoming more decided and demonstrative.*

* The frequency of legislative enactments in regard to the free people of color, during the past winter, is startling in definiteness, and in their very stringent features. Thus, Arkansas has passed a law to expel its free colored population. It is further provided that, if they do not leave during the present year, they are liable to be seized and hired out, so as to procure the means of removing from the State. The lower House of the Legislature of Missouri has likewise passed a bill, by a vote of eighty-eight yeas to twenty-nine nays, in which it is declared that all "free negroes" residing in the State in 1860, shall become slaves. It also forbids emancipation within the limits of the State. Similar measures have been proposed in the Legislatures of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and doubtless in other States. The Legislature of Arkansas passed an act which prohibits, under severe penalties, the employment of "free negroes" on water crafts navigating the rivers of that State.

No slave, however worthy, can henceforth, in Louisiana and several other States, have freedom conferred upon him while in those States; neither is he permitted to return after being emancipated. The Supreme Judicial Tribunal of Virginia have decided, "that slaves have no civil or social rights, and that the slave cannot choose between freedom and slavery, if the offer be made him by his master; and that, consequently, a slave left by his master with freedom, if he choose to take it, can have no legal right to choose freedom, and must, therefore, still be a slave." It will thus be seen that the free colored man is likely to be driven from the Southern States by new legislative enactments; and that, where wills allowing the slave, at the death of the master, to elect freedom or continue in servitude, were once favored, now they are under the ban of law.

The constitutions of the recently admitted free States show that

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What then can be their anticipations? Apprehensive, as the intelligent among them must be, of

the colored man is not desired as an element of population. In the House of Representatives of Indiana a bill has been rejected, by a vote of sixty-five yeas to twenty nays, repealing the existing law, which makes "negroes and mulattoes" incompetent as witnesses. In the Legislature of Michigan, a proposed amendment to the constitution of that State, granting to "negroes" the right of suffrage on a property qualification, was defeated. Even in the generally received pro-African State of Ohio, a law has just passed its Legislature, which declares that no person having any African blood in his veins shall be permitted to exercise the elective franchise within that commonwealth. Petitions from citizens of Bucks and Philadelphia Counties, for a legal enactment to prevent "negroes" of other States from settling in Pennsylvania, have been presented to our State Legislature.—*Philadelphia Ledger*, April 1, 1859.

The Pittsburg Gazette says, that a company of colored People in that City desired to form a party to emigrate westward and settle upon and pre-empt public lands. Their counsel communicated with the Land Department at Washington, and received in reply a flat refusal:—it being the settled ruling of that office that colored persons are not citizens of the United States, as contemplated by the pre-emption law of the 4th September, 1841, and are, therefore, not legally entitled to pre-empt public lands.—*Colonization Herald*, March, 1859, *Philadelphia*.

FREE NEGROES PRESENTED.—It will be seen by the following presentment of the Grand Jurors of this District, at the recent term of the Court of Common Pleas, that the evil of the presence of free negroes in this State has attracted their attention, and that they have taken the only means in their power to bring the subject before the Legislature of the State. We are pleased at this act of the Grand Jury, and hope other Grand Juries will follow the example, and thus impress the matter upon our law-makers until they shall be forced to abate the nuisance.

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY, AT SPRING TERM, 1859.—We

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the future,—hopeless, surely, of bettering their condition where they are,—whither can they look? They have already tried Hayti and found it wanting. Alike in color, unlike in all other respects, they have neither affinities nor sympathies with its people. They have no desire to be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the British Colonies of Trinidad and Demerara. They fully appreciate the motives of those who invite them to the West Indies. With no spot on the American Continent, not appropriated to the white man's use, and his exclusively, whither can they go, to avoid the throng of multiplying thousands now competing with them in all the avenues of labor? Whither, when the West, which, now, by absorbing the foreign immigration, relieves them from the pressure on the seaboard that would otherwise crush them against the wall,—whither, when the West, too, shall have a redundant population, whither shall they go? Whither, but to Africa,—to that Africa of the Tropics, where climate, genial and salubrious to the descendants of the soil, protects them, as with a

further present the free negroes of the District as a nuisance, and recommend that the Legislature pass some law that will have the effect of relieving the community of this troublesome population.—*Cherau (S. C.) Gazette.*

wall of fire, against the encroachments of the white man,—guards the headland,—sentinels the mine,—and stays, even on the very border of the sea, on the river, and in the forest, that march of Empire, which pestilence alone can check.

There may be some who imagine we are false prophets of evil; some, who, in the sunshine of to-day, hope that the sky will never be obscured.

Only a portion of our story has been told, however. “Beholding the little cloud out of the sea, like a man’s hand,” pregnant with increasing evil to the free people of color, we would urge them to better their condition, by removal, “before the Heaven was dark with wind and rain.” In doing so, we have dealt with the developments of to-day alone. Our calculations come up to the seventh census only. But what will be the shewing of the census of 1900. Judging from the past decades, our population will then exceed ninety-eight million. Many of my hearers will live to verify the estimate. In three score years and ten, the scriptural limit of a man’s life, the fifteenth census will bring our numbers near to two hundred and forty million. Children are living who will be counted among these millions in 1930.*

* The above results are obtained as follows. Table LXIII. of the

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If then we are correct in attributing the present condition of the free people of color to the addition

Quarto Edition of the 7th Census gives the "ratio of increase in the United States of white, free colored, slaves and total population since 1790." Thus

	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Whites,.....	35.68	36.18	34.12	34.03	34.72	37.74
Free Colored,	82.28	72.	25.25	33.86	20.87	12.47
Slaves,	28.1	33.4	29.10	30.62	23.31	28.82
Aggregate,...	35.01	36.44	33.35	33.26	32.74	35.86

Averaging the decades, and we have for the decennial increase of the whites 35.41; of the free colored, 41.62; of the slaves, 28.74; and of the aggregate of population, 34.44 per cent.

The above proportion of the increase of the *aggregate* is not given in Table LXIII., but has been calculated from its data. The calculations of the Table refer to the aggregate of the free and the aggregate of the colored only.

Table LX. gives the proportion of the white, free colored and slaves, for the above periods, as follows :

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Whites,.....	80.73	81.13	80.97	81.57	81.90	83.17	84.31
Free Colored,....	1.57	2.04	2.57	2.47	2.48	2.26	1.87
Slaves,.....	17.76	16.83	16.46	15.96	15.62	14.57	13.82

The foregoing tables shew sufficient uniformity in the past seven decades to authorize an average in estimating the population at future decades; and the average of the aggregate, or 34.44 per cent. has accordingly been assumed, with the following results:

Estimated aggregate population of the United States at the next eight census periods respectively.

1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.	1920.	1930.
30,179,158	40,562,860	54,532,708	73,213,772	98,428,595	132,327,413	177,900,974	239,170,069

While it is admitted that these figures afford approximations only, and that a wide margin must be allowed for possible contingencies, yet

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of twenty-one million to the aggregate population of 1816, assuming the latter to have been nine million, and the total now to be thirty million, what will be their condition, when we number sixty-eight million more; and what again, when we add two hundred and ten million to the population of to-day?

We commend the question to every lover of his country. Earnestly, solemnly, as a friend, who for more than thirty years has labored in their behalf, we commend it to every free colored man in America.

Had Ireland, in 1847, been inhabited by white and free colored men, in the Maryland proportions, influenced, too, by like feelings, which would have borne the brunt of the great famine?

millions may be dropped from the estimate, and still leave an increase large enough to justify the anticipations of the text. It will matter little to the free colored man, in 1930, whether the pressure that crushes him proceeds from a population of 200,000,000 or 240,000,000.

The actual numbers of the respective classes of the population at the several decades from 1790, as shewn by the same tables, are as follows:

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Whites,	3,172,464	4,304,489	5,862,004	7,861,937	10,537,378	14,195,695	19,553,068
F. Col'd,	59,456	108,395	186,446	233,524	319,599	386,303	434,495
Slaves,	697,897	893,041	1,191,364	1,538,038	2,009,043	2,487,455	3,204,313
Aggreg'e,	3,929,827	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,654,596	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876

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The famine of 1847 is not the last that may occur in the history of the world. Those who anticipated its coming by emigration to America, to better their condition, "before the Heaven was dark with wind and rain," manifested a wisdom that we do not venture to hope will be exhibited here, in a similar emigration to Africa, for years to come. The free colored people themselves, however, are unwittingly hastening such a result. They resolve for instance, in Ohio, that "a combination of capital and labor, will, in every field of enterprise, be their true policy; that combination stores of every kind, combination work shops, combination farms, will, if every where established, greatly increase their wealth and with it their power." And they publish these resolutions, too, as if to place themselves in direct antagonism to the whites, as a distinct race, with separate interests, struggling for power!* They are pro-

* CONVENTION OF COLORED PEOPLE FOR THE STATE OF OHIO.—A Convention of colored men for the State of Ohio, designed to institute measures and take action which shall gain for the colored citizens political and social rights equal to those of the white citizens, assembled in Cincinnati on Wednesday morning, at the Baker Street Church. Among the resolutions adopted were the following :

Resolved, That we say to those who would induce us to emigrate to Africa or elsewhere, that the amount of labor and self-sacrifice required to establish a home in a foreign land, would, if exercised

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voking a contest which the commonest prudence counsels them to postpone or to avoid. They are seeking a strife in which they cannot but be worsted. They are warring, not against Colonizationists, "who," to use their own words, "would induce them to emigrate to Africa or elsewhere," but against the inevitable future: and their prospect of success is in exact proportion to their ability to diminish the increase of our population, or to paralyze our wondrous and unprecedented development. In all this, they are but working out their destiny; but accelerating the approach of that voluntary self-paying emigration, which will be the fruition of the Colonization scheme: a scheme to succeed fully, perhaps, after generations only; but thoroughly meeting all the exigencies of

here, redeem our native land from the grasp of slavery; therefore we are resolved to remain where we are, confident that "truth is mighty and will prevail."

Resolved, That a combination of labor and capital will, in every field of enterprise, be our true policy. Combination stores of every kind, combination work shops, and combination farms will, if every-where established, greatly increase our wealth, and with it our power.

Resolved, That the State Central Committee be instructed to prepare two petitions for general circulation, one to be signed by whites favorable to equal rights, and the other by the colored people, male and female, old and young, omitting none who are able to make their mark.—*Baltimore Daily Exchange*, 29 November, 1858.

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the future; the work of friends, not unfrinds; counselling, not compelling; leaving it to the irresolute, the inert, the unfitted, the visionary, to linger out existence where they are; but proclaiming to the ambitious, the energetic, the intelligent, and the brave, new fields of enterprise beyond the sea, where talent, capital and labor, instead of being confined to stores and workshops, may be devoted to the development of a nation's prosperity and renown.

Nor are there wanting still higher motives to suggest to those for whom the Colony, proposed by Finley, has been founded, to induce them "to go and settle there." As a missionary people, their's will it be to influence and control the destinies, to a great extent, of the vast continent, to which they will bear the blessed truths of that Religion, whose temples, in the fulfilment of prophecy, must yet be reflected in the tranquil waters of the Tsad and the Ngami, assemble their thousands of worshippers in the broad valley of the Niger, and commemorate the exploit of Livingstone, as they arise along his route on the banks of the Leeba and the Zambesi.

But it may be said, that in the next forty or seventy years the free colored population will be

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lost sight of, even should it remain here, as a turbid confluent is lost in the clearer hue of the great river to whose volume it forms but an inconsiderable addition.

It might be so, were the "wretchedness" referred to a matter of proportion. But, due as it is to the aggregate of population, the pressure will be regulated by the density of the mass. White striving with white, as well as white with colored, will feel it; with this difference, that where there is not bread enough for both, those will be the greatest sufferers who are socially and politically the weakest.

Regarding Liberia then, as the means of obviating results which, were there no Liberia, would be among the gloomiest apprehensions of coming years, we can hardly place too high an estimate upon what has been accomplished by Colonization. As well might we disregard the feeble thread of water that trickles across the levee, when the Mississippi, at the season of its floods, threatens to "o'er bear its continents," as disregard Liberia in its relations to the United States: for as the one may prove the outlet through whose wasting borders the swollen and unbridled stream, fertilizing even where it overwhelms, may sooner find the

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gulf of Mexico, so the other may become the means by which the increasing and redundant volume of our free colored population may diffuse over another land the civilization and religion it has accumulated during its abode in this.

Not only may we not disregard Liberia, but we feel as though we did not dare to doubt its destiny.

This is not the occasion to reiterate the oft told story of Plymouth and Jamestown. We all know how long it was before success crowned the efforts of those who laid the foundations of New England, and how little it was that Smith, who strode, like a paladin of old, through the forests of the New world, was able to accomplish in the establishment of Virginia. The wisdom and the chivalry of Europe were represented in the contest with the wilderness of America; and king Philip at Mount Hope, and Powhatan on the James River, vindicated in many a bloody contest the valor and the prowess of the race, whose last lingering remnants now seek, in vain, towards the setting sun, a refuge from the overwhelming wave of a civilization which not even christianity may moderate that they may be preserved.

But, how different was it on the coast of Africa. A few emancipated slaves, a few free people of

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color, ignorant and inexperienced, foot sore and weary, landed at Monrovia, maintained themselves against the natives, who would have driven them into the sea, received, slowly, year after year, accessions from America, and by degrees acquiring strength and making no step backward, finally proclaimed their independence, and are now the people we have described.

What could have strengthened such weak hands save the blessing of Him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift. Nor can we doubt that the blessing will be continued unto the end; and we look forward to the future of Liberia, as we do to the future of California and Oregon; and we are not more certain that a teeming white population will line the Sacramento and the Columbia, than we are, that the free colored people of the United States and their descendants will carry our language and our institutions up the Cavalla and the St. Paul's, and, crossing the dividing mountains, make them familiar to the heart of Central Africa.

For the accomplishment of these results, we rely neither upon the spirit of adventure, such as animates the young, and is fitful and capricious; upon the love of gold operating on all, but requiring a California or an Australia for its full devel-

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opment; upon religious excitement, which too often exhausts itself far short of the mark it aims at; upon political aspirations or patriotic impulses: but our reliance is upon the inevitable increase of our aggregate of population. Adventure may die out, gold may pall, religion become apathetic, politics inoperative, and patriotism a dream; but years after years will, nevertheless, add their hundreds of thousands to the numbers of our people, until the ninety-eight million of 1900 will be made up, and the two hundred and forty million of the fifteenth census will be completed.

So noiseless is this mighty increase that we no more heed it than we do the flight of the hours that hastens the results that it involves. We note the progress of the tide as it creeps upwards on the sand—the shadows as they lengthen with the waning day,—for we walk the beach and watch the dial; but the growth of the population of a country, vast as ours, is beyond the limit of daily individual observation, and exhibited only in statistics too dull to have an interest for the mass, neither teaches nor warns, until both teaching and warning may be too late.

Just now, however, there is much restlessness among the free people of color in many parts of

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the Union. Sometimes, it exhibits itself in plans for obtaining information—sometimes, in combination resolutions—sometimes, in an emphatic determination to remain where they are—as if Colonization, instead of offering them an asylum, sought to force them into exile. But, whatever form this restlessness assumes, it proceeds from a doubt, fast becoming general, whether America, after all, is more than a temporary abiding place; a doubt suggested, not, as often asserted, by Colonizationists, but by circumstances, wholly beyond their control, and which, having foreseen, they have provided against in the establishment of Liberia.

Great events in the world's history rarely come unheralded to those who watch the portents of the times. Washington, Napoleon, Cromwell, were the developments of long germinating principles, the maturities of years of preparation. When they appeared, every thing was in readiness, and their missions were accomplished. So, we humbly hope, has it been with Colonization. It exists, because the time for it has arrived. The opposition it has encountered, the vituperation with which it has been assailed, the slowness of its progress, have all had their uses in perfecting it. The day of its ordeal has not yet drawn to a close. But the

cloud that retards, the sunshine that hastens maturity, are incidents only in the history of the golden fruit that blushes at its own beauty before Autumn's gaze. So with men and with nations. We may not prejudge their destiny from the isolated facts of their existence; but, gathering the whole into one category, find in the result the evidence of that overruling wisdom, that makes all discord harmony in the accomplishment of its designs.

It is in this connection that the interest, which has of late years sprung up in regard to Africa, is not without its significance. Half a century and more ago, Park lost his life at Boussa, and no man was tempted to enterprise in the direction of his grave. Northern Africa was the corsairs. Egypt obeyed the Mamelukes. Belzoni had not pierced the Pyramid. Few were the strangers who inclined the ear at sunrise before the vocal Memnon. The Cape of Good Hope was little more than a water station on the voyage to India. On the borders of Africa, the barracoon was the evidence of civilization, and the maps represented the interior as a desert impassable by man.

But presently, all this is changed. The corsair disappears. The Mamelukes are exterminated.

The ascent and exploration of the pyramids, a canter across the plain of Thebes, become the pleasant incidents of a summer's tour. Civilization marches, drum and trumpet in the van, perhaps, northward from the Cape. The Christian Church rises not unfrequently on the ruins of the barracoons. Denham sees the Tsad. Clapperton finds his way to Sokatu. The Landers make their voyage down the Niger to the sea. Steam subsequently ascends the river. Caille becomes an explorer. Andersen is the hero of the Lake Ngami. Barth opens up another portion of the Continent. Livingstone crosses it from St. Paul de Loando to Quillimane, and gives to the Niagara of Africa, the name of the Queen of England. Missionaries multiply every where. New maps are made, and cities and towns, and great rivers and lesser streams, and mountain ranges and intervening vallies, and divisions into kingdoms, whose rulers bear now familiar names, fill the void on the maps of the deserts of the old geographers. Contemporaneous with all this activity, Colonization completes its experiment, and Liberia stands forth its illustration and its triumph.

Commerce, too, the right arm of civilization, the agent we rely on for the scheme we have at heart,

has been busy in the interval.* Palm oil has become a necessity. Hides, camwood, ivory, gold dust, gums and spices, take the place of human beings in the traffic of the country. Steam carries the mails of Great Britain along the windward and leeward coasts to the Islands at the bottom of the Bight of Biafra. At a recent meeting, in London,

* No less than four Liberian vessels have arrived in the United States this year, with cargoes of Liberian produce. Of what description and value those products are, may be judged from the cargo of the schooner *Antelope*, which arrived here on the 14th inst. She has 14,000 pounds of sugar, 17,000 gallons of syrup, palm oil, camwood and some coffee, and could have obtained double the quantity of sugar had she waited ten days longer, as the farmers were busy manufacturing it, and bringing it down the St. Paul's river to Monrovia to market where it found a ready sale.

We are informed that a colored firm, Messrs. Johnson, Turpin & Dunbar, have established a commercial house in this city, in connection with one at Monrovia, for the purpose of facilitating and promoting the Liberian trade, and have purchased the bark "*Mendi*," a vessel of 300 to 400 tons burthen, to run as a regular freight and passenger packet between this port and Monrovia, making three or four trips a year. They have also contracted for a small steamer, which they design to run coastwise between Cape Palmas and Monrovia, touching at all principal points to collect freight and passengers, and to connect with the above vessel on her regular sailing days; though the chief object of this enterprise will be to collect the mails along the coast, with a view to supply the deficiency in the mail service occasioned by the British steamers discontinuing to touch at Monrovia, as they have hitherto done. This will insure regularity in the mails, which, under the present arrangements, are very uncertain, and will be a great accommodation to merchants and others.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, May, 1859.

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of the African Steamship Company, it was stated, that there were now "almost as frequent communications with the interior of Africa, as ten or twelve years ago were had with Constantinople." Not the least interesting of the facts, reported on this occasion, was the use that the native Africans were themselves beginning to make of the facilities which steam affords. "The number of negro passengers," it was said, "paying from five to ten dollars a head, had increased from eight to twelve hundred, and it was expected would soon be doubled from Sierra Leone to Lagos, and from the Bonny and the Palm oil rivers to Cape Palmas and the Kroo country." Trade, in fact, is expanding itself in all directions. Cottons, with the stamp of the mills of Massachusetts, are found far inland among the native tribes on the banks of the Zambesi. New markets of immense extent are being opened—virgin markets almost—at a time too, when all existing markets are glutted with the products of a manufacturing skill, whose faculty of supply, exceeding every present demand, requires just such a continent of consumers as Africa affords,—a continent whose wants are capable of doubling even the clatter of every loom, and the ring of every anvil in Europe and America.

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Can it be, that this newly awakened interest in Africa—these new relations that are being established with its people, are accidental merely, having no connection with the masses of free Christian and civilized descendants of Africans amongst us. Can it be nothing more than a curious coincidence, that, when the time has come for the unsealing of a continent, that revelation may be inscribed there—this people—the only people competent to the work, should be found qualified to embark in it; a people, too, *that must go somewhere*. Is it not far more probable, that their existence here is but a part of that grand series of events, that are to co-operate until prophecy shall be fulfilled; not to-day or to-morrow, not in this generation or the next, but speedily, notwithstanding, looking to the scale of time by which are measured the epochs of society.

We are confident that we do not over-estimate our cause, when we place it in the relations that are here suggested. The test proposed upwards of eighteen hundred years ago, on a far more solemn occasion, when it was said, “refrain from these men and leave them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of man, it will come to nought,” is one which the past history of Colonization and

Liberia has fully demonstrated their capacity to stand. Forty-two years of labor have not been thrown away. Jefferson, Madison, Munroe, Marshall, Mercer, Harper, Randolph, Clay, supported not a cause, which, in the hands of their successors, will fail to realize their expectations. Ashmun, Buchanan, Randall, sleep not in vain beneath the palm trees of Liberia. A new member has not been added to the family of nations without a mission to fulfil in the history of mankind. Ceasing to be ignored by the politicians of the day, philanthropy shall yet be thanked by statesmanship for its labors on the coasts of Africa. And the light which Park and Lander and Livingstone, the representatives of their periods of exploration, have shed on this great continent, and the feeling now pervading the world in its regard, shall yet guide and cheer the march of thousands and tens of thousands of emigrants;—a march as determined as that which brought forth Israel from beneath the shadow of the pyramids,—as triumphant as that celebrated by Miriam's song;—a march heralded by the gospel, and bearing back to Africa, in the blessings of civilization and religion, treasures more precious far than the gold and silver vessels of which Egypt was despoiled, in those days

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of old, when, with timbrels and dances, the prophetess proclaimed—"the horse and his rider are thrown into the sea." Preceded by no plagues—pursued after by no oppressors—protected by "the Right Hand—glorious in power," such shall yet be the march of the free people of color of our country; and in the cities which they will build, the institutions they will establish, the laws they will maintain and the knowledge they will impart, will be recognized the vindication of the holy confidence, the persevering enthusiasm, that animated the founder of our society, when he proclaimed that "he knew the scheme was from God."

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

President of the American Colonization Society,

AT THE

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION
SOCIETY, HELD IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON CITY,

JANUARY 21, 1862.

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Resolution of Board of Directors, January 22, 1862.

Resolved, That the Address delivered last evening before the Society by its president, the Hon. JOHN H. B. LATROBE, be promptly issued in pamphlet form for gratuitous circulation.

COLONIZATION.

Never, perhaps, since Finley, in 1816, proclaimed that "he knew the scheme of African colonization was from God," has the anniversary meeting been called to order with more profound emotion than is now felt by the presiding officer. Nor does he doubt, at the least, that his hearers participate in his feelings.

The great statesmen who launched the ship of our cause, at the instigation of the New Jersey clergyman—Jefferson, Madison, Randolph, Harper, Mercer, Clay—confided it at once to the philanthropists who have since plied its oars and trimmed its sails, as with varying speed, it has pursued its way under a summer sky and upon placid waters; and the periodical records of the voyage have been heretofore, almost always, illuminated, richly as a missal of old times, with the gay colors and the golden tracery which hopeful enthusiasm spread upon their pages with a lavish hand, in these halcyon days of prosperity and peace. But now, the same ship, to pursue the simile, though still keeping its course, presses onward through angry waves and beneath a threatening heaven. The thunder of artillery, the clangor of trumpets, the roll of drums, the clash of steel, are echoing on all sides; and were the narrative of its progress to embrace the current events of cotemporary history, it would contain many a sad episode of battle and death,

with all the miserable accompaniments of civil war. That it lives in such a sea, and amid such surroundings, stauncher than ever, is alone conclusive proof of the divinity of its origin.

The early advocates of African colonization looked to it as a means of improving the condition of the free people of color, morally and politically; of separating them from a contact with the slaves, that was prejudicial to both parties; or of civilizing and christianizing Africa, according to their respective stand-points.— But it does not appear that any of them, even among the statesmen we have named, appreciated the great truth on which, in fact, the whole scheme depended for success, and which was, that *"two free races, between whose amalgamation, by intermarriage, was impossible, could never occupy the same land, in peace, on terms of social and political equality."* This, which may be regarded as a fixed and absolute law of races, has been gradually and slowly developing itself in this country, and in this connexion, during the last forty years. There was little or nothing in 1816 to suggest it. History, which amply illustrates it, was a sealed book, whose teachings were valueless, simply because no one turned to its pages to discover them. The population of eight millions, then, was so small, in comparison with the extent of our country, that the latter was assumed to be, for all practical purposes, illimitable.— But when the census of 1850 gave a population of 23,000,000, and that of 1860 a population of 32,000,000, to become, upon the data furnished by eight decennial enumerations, 100,000,000 in 1900, and upwards of 200,000,000 in 1930, this law of races, with its inevitable consequences, became so obvious that it could no longer be overlooked. It was to provide for its operation, to be prepared for the exigency of the exodus of a whole people, that the scheme of colonization, requiring, in this instance, patient labor, supported by faith and hope, to mature it, came into existence five and forty years ago, and that Liberia, afterwards, assumed its place among

the nations; and to Him who filled the mind of Finley with the plan, who softened the hearts of those whom he invoked to aid him, and who has since strengthened the weak hands which have labored in the cause, be ascribed the honor and the glory.

Three years ago, from this platform, the present speaker ventured to use these words: "Ceasing to be ignored by the politicians of the day, philanthropy shall yet be thanked by statesmanship for what it has accomplished on the coast of Africa." The prediction has already been, to some extent, fulfilled; and public men, amid all the excitements of the hour, are even now studying plans of colonization, with a view of providing new homes for those who, as was said on the same occasion, "must go somewhere." The times have forced the question upon them even earlier than was anticipated.

But, as with inventors, so it often is with politicians. Ingenuity exhausts itself in reinvention; and old and discarded things are apt to be adopted as original, because investigation has been postponed until the urgency of occasion has prevented it from being thorough. Thus, at present, colonization in the West Indies, colonization in Central America, colonization in South America, are being discussed and urged, when each of these schemes has, years ago, been examined, weighed, and abandoned. Colonization in the Territories of the United States has been already tried, and with results too, that ought to be eminently suggestive; for the Indian transplanted by us beyond the Mississippi has, long since, required agents to protect him from the intrusion of the white man; and many a longing eye is being cast, from beyond the Indian border, upon the broad prairies and the tall forests, where the descendants of the original possessors of the whole land are busily endeavoring to protract the term of an existence which is rapidly drawing to its close.

As it is with the home of the Indian beyond the Mississippi, so

will it be with every spot on the American continent, and with every adjacent island on which the white man can live and thrive; and to establish a free colored people upon either continent or island will be but to bequeath the struggle of races to a future generation, when, the numbers being greater and the enmity more bitter, while the area of the strife remains the same, the contest will be fiercer, without the smallest change in the result.

And what will be this result? What but the extirpation of the weaker party or its removal to a home where the white man cannot follow it: not because of the intervening sea, because steam has bridged the sea, but because pestilence and death, with swords of flame, debar the white man's entrance. Africa is this home and Liberia is its portal.

It is true, that in speaking thus emphatically we are looking to the future; but then, is it not for the future that we are called upon to provide? The vice of the politicians of the day is that they deal with the present as though it were unchangeable. They legislate for thirty-two millions of people without reference to the decennial increase of thirty-four and a half per cent. They delight in make-shifts. They are enamored of emollients. They lose sight of the fact, that the arable lands of the United States are a fixed quantity, by far, very far, the greater part of which has long been taken up, while the population of the country must increase from thirty-two millions to two hundred and thirty-two millions in a life-time from to-day. They forget the effect that a redundant population must have upon wages, and ignore the idea that the latter can ever approach the European standard on this side of the Atlantic. The possible consequences of such a result, its influence upon the great questions now agitating the country, they have not yet considered. This is a problem they want the patience, just now, to attempt to solve. But, were they to rise from the level of politics to that of statesmanship, and provide for the future as well as for to-day,

they would no more think of colonies of free people of color on this continent or its islands, than a pedestrian, in removing the stone that tripped him, would think of placing it where he must again fall over it.

Still, a great advance has been made. Colonization has, at last, become a matter for discussion in the halls of Congress ; and, having truth for its basis, discussion must lead to its development, and America and Africa be benefited by the result.

There is one thing, however, to be carefully avoided in this connexion. The idea of compulsion must not be associated with the scheme. The law of races is of itself competent to bring about every desirable result. It is of daily and hourly operation. It is felt at firesides, when husband and wife, talking over their affairs, recognise its force and agree that they "must go somewhere." It is felt in the fields, in the streets, in all the occupations in which the free colored people have heretofore found employment, and in all of which there is now standing, at the colored man's elbow, a white man, ready to take his place whenever he shall leave it, even if he does not, without reference to his wishes, actually eject him from it. In this way it affects communities and becomes powerful in the building up of nations. Depending, as does the colonization scheme, upon individual action for its results, there must be nothing connected with it against which individual pride may revolt—for pride is every day overruling interest and sacrificing happiness. Emigration must be left to the conviction of the parties that they will do better in another land ; and the silent working of the law of races, quickened by the pressure of a redundant population, will be all-sufficient, in due time, to make this conviction irresistible. There needs no other compulsion.

Nor are these the suggestions of mere expediency. They illustrate the constitutional provision upon which the American Colonization Society has acted from the beginning. It was then declared that

our object was “the removal of the free people of color, *with their own consent*, to Africa”—words which cannot be too often repeated or too strongly emphasized, as explanatory of the scope and meaning of the colonization scheme; and which alike prohibit our becoming the agents of any plan involving compulsion, and pledge us to leave to the free man of color, so far as we are concerned, the time, the place, and the occasion of his emigration.—All we can do is to facilitate his going. To this end our means, although limited—insignificant, indeed, comparatively—have hitherto been competent. They have sufficed to found the colony and to support it in its earlier stages, and until it has become merged in the Republic of Liberia; and, if we restrict the use of them to Africa, it is not because we would interfere with the colored man’s selection of a new home, but because it is our solemn conviction that in Africa alone can his people find a permanent abiding place. If lighthouses now crown the headlands of Cape Montserado and Cape Palmas, if churches and mission stations and school-houses now dot the coast from Cape Mount to the Cavalla, if steam sugar mills are at work on the St. Paul’s and steam saw-mills are busy on the Junk, if the trade between the seaboard settlements is carried on in vessels built in the yards of Monrovia, and if a foreign commerce is already prosecuted by merchant shipowners of Liberia, if all this has been done with such humble means as individual benevolence, and, sometimes, State appropriations have afforded, we may surely be permitted to say, without arrogance, that the blessing of the Almighty rests upon the choice which this Society has made of Africa as the future home of the free colored people of the United States.

But, unlike the strength of Milo, ours has not increased from day to day with our growing burden; and more efficient measures ought now to be adopted to promote the growth of the African Republic. Among the most important of these is the recognition

by this country of the Government of Liberia—most important to the latter, and far, very far, from unimportant to ourselves.

The United States, whose laws and institutions the Liberians have honorably illustrated in Africa, whose great names are perpetuated where Monrovia looks down upon the deep, where Clay Ashland marks the progress of civilization in the forest, where Harper stretches along the three hills of Palmas, and by many a stream and town besides, the United States, alone almost among the leading nations of the world, withholds its recognition of the Government of Liberia; and this, too, when within the last few years we have actually been dependent upon Liberia for the ability to fulfil our treaties with reference to the slave trade: for, had Liberia refused, as she might have done, to receive the more than four thousand recaptured Africans, who in that time have been landed on her shores, what would have become of them? North and South, here, alike unwilling to take charge of them, a crowd of naked savages, they must have been thrown upon the coast, remote from their respective tribes, to become again the victims of the nefarious traffic from which they had just been rescued,—a proceeding so repugnant to humanity that the withdrawal of every vessel of war maintained by us on the coast would have been preferable to its adoption. In lieu of this, Liberia received them, and distributed them among her Christian homes, where, from the last accounts, they are fast becoming qualified to have homes of their own, in which, before long, the prayers of grateful hearts will invoke blessings upon those who, in teaching the captives the arts of civilized life, have made them an example of what may be done throughout all Africa by such agencies as our Society has established there.

Whatever, then, may be the result of the present agitation of schemes of colonization, whether it may end in a still further postponement of the whole subject, or in immediate action, there ought to be no difficulty on the part of the United States in recog-

nizing the Government of Liberia, if only in acknowledgment of benefits actually derived from it.

And not only would the measure be just, but it would be expedient also. We are a nation of manufacturers as well as agriculturists. We want markets for the products of our inventive genius and mechanical skill. We have fought for them in China, and spent hundreds of thousands in obtaining them in Japan, while, at the same time, we voluntarily exclude ourselves from almost the only virgin market in the world. We suffer our commerce to be burdened with a discriminating duty of twelve per cent. on all goods imported into Liberia from this country, from which the recognition of her Government would exempt us; and the consequence is, that the trade from the United States, which was formerly a direct one, is now carried on in English vessels, or in American vessels sailing from British ports. France is seeking the interior of Africa up the Senegal, and from the Mediterranean, England is making her way to it from Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle, and Lagos, and up the Zambesi, while the United States, with the peculiar facilities, which its relations to Liberia naturally afford, of accomplishing a commercial destiny in this connexion, such as France or England can never win, is neglecting its opportunities until they may be lost to it forever.

That the trade here referred to may be appreciated as it should be, it may be stated, that while, in 1853, the export of palm oil from Lagos was but one hundred and sixty tons, its declared worth in 1857 was \$5,314,000. In 1852 the whole export of cotton from Abeokuta was nine bags, weighing about eighteen hundred pounds in all. In 1859 it was 416,341 lbs. The quantity of palm oil sent annually from the western coast of Africa is at least sixty thousand tons, exceeding in value the product of a whale oil season. The quantity that reached Great Britain alone, in 1860, was 40,216 tons, while the exports of British goods to the West Coast amount-

ed, for the first six months of the same year, to \$3,656,310, being a gain of forty percent. on the export of 1858. The present extent of this trade is not so remarkable as its rapid increase, and the efforts which are making by European nations to encourage and obtain it.

But the pecuniary loss attending the destruction of our commercial intercourse with Africa, through Liberia, will not be the only result to be deplored should our present policy be persisted in.—Commerce has been the great agent of colonization from the days of the Phenicians down to the last arrival from Germany and Ireland in the harbor of New York. It is the only agent upon which reliance can be placed to accomplish the voluntary self-paying emigration to Africa, which will one day equal the emigration from Europe to America. With the necessity for such an emigration becoming daily more and more apparent, it is, unquestionably, as unwise as it is unstatesmanlike not to encourage, in every possible way, the commerce upon which, take place when it will, it must be dependant. Foster commerce with Liberia, and colonization will pay its own way, and our free colored population will pass from amongst us, voluntarily and quietly, in the natural order of events. Destroy this commerce—let its growth be hampered with restrictions—and Liberia must become a dependency of England, and we will have thrown into the hands of a rival all the advantages which Liberia yearns to accord to that land which, whatever the policy of the Government, is still the mother country of her people.

Nor are the means of transportation which commerce affords alone to be regarded in this connexion. Commerce assists in preparing for the reception of the immigrants, as it increases the population, multiplies the resources, and enhances the wealth of the cities where they land. The ship loads that now disappear in New York, as they are absorbed in the population that commerce has accumulated there, would have overwhelmed the village of New Amsterdam at any time

within the first twenty years after its establishment on the island of Manhattan. There is a law that regulates immigration according to the capacity of the particular locality, and which will operate in the colonization of Africa, as it has done in all the colonizations that have preceded it. As has been shown, in the case of the recaptives recently landed in Liberia, this capacity of the Republic is now upwards of four thousand per annum, even where the immigrants are mere barbarians. But there is no doubt that a still greater number could have been received had they been of the character sent from the United States, provided with more or less means, and acquainted with the occupations and having the habits of civilization. Indeed, it may be assumed, that Liberia is now prepared to receive any number of emigrants which, under any circumstances, may be landed there, until the removal of our free colored population shall be gradually and satisfactorily accomplished. African colonization is destiny. The colonization of America was slower in the beginning, and yet what a people we have become! The colonization of California was more rapid, because the gold there was more attractive to the adventurous of the United States than the religious persecutions of the Old World were repulsive to the Pilgrim Fathers. The colonization of Africa will be more certain than either was in the first instance; because, while persecution might have ceased in Europe, and the gold become exhausted in California, the law of races and the increase of population are inflexible and uncontrollable, and must be enduring in their operation, and absolutely certain in their results.

In whatever aspect, then, recognition presents itself, it is commended to our favorable consideration. It obviates a discrimination which hampers commerce; it encourages kind feeling, which no nation, however great, is the worse for, from any other nation, however small; it provides for exigencies that are daily becoming more momentous: but, above all, and beyond all, it is an act just in itself, which the United States should no longer withhold from a people

which exists through its philanthropy, is an illustration of its wisdom, and must be an agent in the fulfilment of the purposes of its God.

Nor, while we thus plead the cause of Liberia, is she speechless in her own behalf. It is no rock-bound coast, ramparted with ice, and under a howling sky, that receives the emigrant from America. The rich and luxuriant vegetation of the tropics comes down to the very borders of the sea; and although here, as elsewhere upon earth, comfort and competence are to be won by toil alone, yet a climate congenial to the nature of the individual gives to industry its reward through all the seasons of the rolling year. The colored man is here his own master. The law of races here operates in his favor. It is his race which is the dominant one; and, dependant as this law is, in this instance, upon climate, and not upon accident, it is his race which must be paramount forever; and from Robertsport, under the shadow of Cape Mount, by Monrovia, where the first settlement was made, by Bassa, where rest the ashes of Buchanan, by Sinou, and Cape Palmas, and Cavalla, to the Rio Pedro, and from the coast line definitely towards the interior, are homes prepared for those whom circumstances, accumulating with the rapidity of the increase of an avalanche, will soon, measuring the time by the magnitude of the result, deprive of all freedom of choice, and leave no alternative but removal.

Members of the American Colonization Society: The chair, at the three anniversary meetings immediately preceding the installation of the present incumbent, was successively occupied by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Charles Fenton Mercer. The West, the North, and the South—Kentucky, Massachusetts, and Virginia—were represented by them. The wonderful orator, the great expounder of the Constitution, the accomplished statesman and philanthropist, were united in the support and advocacy of our cause. The inspiration of their presence is still around us. Were we permitted to see them in other perspectives of the spirit world—could another Beatrice, to an-

other Dante, point out their majestic shadows, as they listened to "the roll of the red artillery" and the tramp of the close columns of armed men which blasted the earth they had left green with the velvet garb of peace, would not Clay be seen, with impatient gesture, head thrown back, and foot advanced, and hand extended, filling the Senate house with the thunder of his voice? Webster, statuesque, with folded arms, darting, from beneath his massive brow, gleams of living fire, as he invoked a world's vengeance on the violators of the Constitution? And Mercer, calm and sorrowful, gazing from one to the other, as he prayed, with clasped palms, that eloquence and wisdom so combined might save his country? And would we not then seek counsel, if we might, from these bold, true patriots and statesmen, as to our own course in the sad emergency of the times.—But the dream of the poet is beyond our realization, and we can only recall to memory what has passed away forever—walking, here on earth, by the light which experience has afforded us, turning neither to the right hand nor the left from the principles which have guided us from the beginning, and finding, in the faith of Finley, that "he knew the scheme was from God," our warrant and our strength, in toiling through strife, as we have toiled in peace, to urge onward to a glorious end the grand cause of African Colonization.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

American Colonization Society,

HELD IN

Washington, D. C., January 19, 1869,

BY

HON. JOSEPH J. ROBERTS,

President of Liberia College, and formerly for eight years President of the
Liberia Republic.

A BRANCH OFFICE
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
Room No. 24 Bible House,
NEW YORK CITY.

Rev. JOHN ORCUTT, Secretary.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. ROBERTS,

Ex-President of the Republic of Liberia.

MR. PRESIDENT: An annual meeting of the American Colonization Society can never fail, I presume, to be an occasion of deep interest to the friends of an enterprise so eminently philanthropic in all its purposes, and particularly grand in its design to introduce the blessings of civilization and Christianity into the waste places of long-neglected and deeply-degraded Africa. On these occasions, while the attention of the managers of the affairs of the Society is specially drawn to a review of the labors and results of the year immediately preceding, and to the adoption of additional measures deemed desirable or necessary to the further prosecution of the undertaking, the minds of its patrons instinctively revert to the great objects originally contemplated by the enterprise, and a review of the progress that has been made in their definite accomplishment. And in turning their thoughts to these on the present occasion, I think there can be no question that, notwithstanding the stern opposition encountered from certain quarters, in consequence of a total misapprehension of the true policy and objects of the Christian promoters of African colonization, and the embarrassments and discouragements which have occasionally arisen from other causes during the progress of the enterprise, the friends of the cause have great reason to-day for congratulation and thankfulness at the wonderful success which has so far attended their efforts—a success, I dare say, far beyond the most sanguine expectation of those distinguished philanthropists who first gave form and impulse to a scheme which, though surrounded by many difficulties and apprehensions, they hoped and believed would, under Divine Providence, eventuate in good and great results to a people they earnestly desired to benefit.

The scheme of African colonization is the offspring of a great Christian idea, which, more than half a century ago, fixed itself in the minds of Drs. Finley and Thornton, Gen. Charles Fenton Mercer, Elias B. Caldwell, Francis S. Key. and other kindred spirits, who deeply deplored the oppression to which the people of color were subjected in this country, and feeling profoundly impressed with the importance of devising some plan by which the condition of a part of this people might be immediately and radically changed, and in such a way as to create a reflex influence which would produce a salutary effect upon—as then existed—the abominable institution of American slavery. Hence the organization of the American Colonization Society, which you, Mr. President, and the Board of Directors here present to-day, represent. Those pure and disinterested men, with a wise forethought which penetrated far into the future, contemplated with earnest solicitude the accomplishment of designs in respect to Africa, no less gigantic in their proportions than important in their results; and it is not surprising that irresolute minds questioned the ability of any mere private association to fulfill so great an undertaking.

The programme of the founders of the American Colonization Society, as I have always understood it, and which, as far as I know, has not been departed from, was: 1st. To establish on the shores of Africa an asylum where such of her scattered children as might choose to avail themselves of it would find a free and happy home; and in this connection they would fairly test the capacity of the African for self-government and the maintenance of free political institutions. 2d. That through the instrumentality of a colony thus established, composed of men who had themselves been the victims of cruel servitude, additional facilities would be afforded for the extirpation of the slave trade, then rampant, with all its attendant horrors, at nearly every prominent point along that Western coast. 3d. By means of Christian settlements, in the midst of that barbarous people, to introduce the blessings of civilization and Christianity among the heathen tribes of that degraded land.

These were grand conceptions, embracing nothing less than the founding of an empire with negro nationality, and the redemption of a continent from pagan superstition and idolatry. Of course, a work of such magnitude required large material resources and suitable men as emigrants, to conduct it in a manner promising successful results. We can, therefore, readily imagine the serious misgivings which must have weighed heavily on the minds of those good men when they engaged in an enterprise necessarily involving, in all its details, so many apprehensions as to the future. But they were men of great faith and energy, fully imbued with the spirit of their mission in behalf of humanity and

ligion, and, therefore, hesitated not to commit the success of their undertaking to the direction and support of an all-wise Providence.

But it is not my purpose on this occasion to trace the history of the American Colonization Society, either in regard to the opposition it has countered, or the sympathy and care by which it has been fostered and sustained during its long years of agency in promoting the civil, social, and religious interests of Africa. The work of colonizing a people, under the most favorable auspices, has always been attended with many difficulties and discouragements; and, in the case of this Society, dependent entirely upon voluntary, individual contributions for the means of prosecuting its enterprise, and also considering the remoteness of the country to which its efforts were directed, it could not be otherwise than that its progress in colonizing would be slow and peculiarly difficult. Nevertheless, with unfaltering perseverance, the Society has pursued its course, and has already effected an amount of good that entitles it to the confidence and generous support of the Christian public. And yet, even now, it is sometimes asked: "What has African colonization accomplished? Have the labors, the sacrifices, and the means which have been expended produced such results as should satisfy the public mind of its practical utility and probable ultimate success?" These questions, to be sure, may not be regarded as impertinent on the part of those who are really ignorant of the history of African colonization, and what has actually been accomplished under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. And as these questions have been put to me more than once during my present visit to the United States, I don't know that I can do better than to avail myself of this occasion to present a brief statement of the rise and progress of Liberia under the auspices of this Society, and then I shall be content to allow those who seem to be in doubt as to the utility of African colonization to settle the question in their own minds as to whether the colonization enterprise is entitled to their confidence and support or not.

As soon as practicable after the formal organization of the American Colonization Society, and the necessary preliminary arrangements towards planting a colony in Western Africa had been concluded, steps were taken for sending forward the first company of emigrants to organize a new civil society on that distant, barbarous coast. Therefore, early in the year 1820, eighty-six persons, from the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New York, assembled in the city of New York, for the purpose of embarking upon this new and perilous enterprise. It was a profoundly anxious time, no less with the patrons of the Society than with the emigrants. The friends of the Society were deeply concerned in regard to the suitableness of the men about to be employed in so great an undertaking, and where so much depended upon the adaptability of

the materials thus engaged for the foundation of a new civil and political superstructure. Doubtless their hopes and fears were about equally balanced. On the part of the emigrants, as often related to me by Rev. Elijah Johnson, the most prominent individual of the company, their feelings were greatly excited by conflicting emotions, which swayed to and fro between the present and the future. They were about severing all the ties of early associations, and many of them leaving comfortable homes for a far-off land, wholly unbroken by civilization, and presenting but few attractions—other than liberty dwelt there. They, therefore, resolved to flee a country which repudiated their manhood, and closed against them every avenue to political preferment; and, with their lives in their hands, they determined to brave, not only the perils of the sea, but every other danger and inconvenience consequent upon settling in a new and heathen country, where they might establish for themselves and their children, and, peradventure, for future generations, a home, under governmental institutions, free from all the trammels of unequal law and unholy prejudices. These were true men, stout of heart and firm of purpose, and, in the sequel, proved themselves equal to the responsibilities they had assumed, and fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of their patrons and friends.

Our Christian pioneers—like the Pilgrim Fathers just two hundred years before, when about to embark from Delft Haven, in search of a more desirable home in the new world—by solemn and appropriate religious services, committed themselves and their cause to the protecting care of Almighty God; and, having completed all their arrangements for the voyage, sailed from New York on board the good ship “Elizabeth,” on the 6th day of February, 1820, and, in due time, were landed on the coast of Africa, at the British colony of Sierra Leone. For obvious reasons, it was not contemplated to incorporate these emigrants with the inhabitants of this British colony; and, therefore, early measures were taken to remove them to Sherbro Island, about one hundred and twenty miles south of Sierra Leone, where it was proposed to purchase lands from the native chiefs, and organize a settlement, with the view of carrying out the original plans of the Society. This location, however, proved to be exceedingly insalubrious, and in a short time, many of the settlers were prostrated by disease. Having encountered here many difficulties and hardships, and finding their numbers greatly reduced by deaths, the place was abandoned, and the survivors removed to Fourah Bay, within the precincts of Sierra Leone. This first attempt was, of course, discouraging, but the emigrants faltered not in their purpose; and, being joined at Fourah Bay, in March, 1822, by another company of pioneers, a second effort was determined upon at Capo Mesurado, which had, in the meantime, been selected and purchased by Captain

Stockton and Doctor Ayres—a location much more commanding and eligible than the first, and, I have often thought, the very place of all others on that coast, designed by Providence as the starting point of our settlers. And in January, 1822, the colonists landed, and occupied a little island, comprising about three acres of land, near the entrance of the Mesurado River. This island, during its occupancy by the colonists, was the scene of many stirring incidents, and several, as appeared to the colonists, providential deliverances; wherefore, in commemoration of these, it bears the name of “Providence Island.”

They had been but a short time on this island, when the foreign slave dealers, who were then conducting a large business in slaves at the Cape, became convinced of the danger to which their trade was exposed through the influence of the colonists, incited the natives to hostilities against the new comers; and, without any previous intimation, they found themselves cut off from all communication with the main land, whence they drew their only supply of fresh water. In this emergency, they were providentially relieved by the kindness of a friendly chief, who conveyed to them stealthily, at night, a sufficient quantity of water to supply their pressing demands; and this he continued for several weeks. At this critical juncture, their public warehouse, with nearly all their stores of provisions and merchandise, was consumed by fire, and their utter ruin seemed now inevitable. But a remarkable incident, occurring a few days after, greatly contributed to their relief, and, possibly, saved the little settlement from total destruction. A Spanish slave schooner, in charge of an English prize crew, bound to Sierra Leone, was unaccountably stranded in the harbor, but a short distance from the island; and the commanding officer, having saved a large portion of the ship's stores, readily supplied the colonists with several articles pressingly needed to replenish their almost-exhausted means of subsistence.

After a while, through the intervention of a friendly chief, a partial reconciliation with the natives was effected, and the colonists availed themselves of the opportunity, April 25th, to gain a lodgment on Cape Mesurado, where they placed themselves, as speedily as possible, in the best state of defense their means would allow. The natives, however, urged on by the slavers, appeared still threatening in their demeanor. The Society's agents, under the conflicting aspect of things, became hopelessly discouraged, and proposed the abandonment of the enterprise, and the return of the emigrants to the United States. But our old hero, Elijah Johnson, was not so moved; and, remembering something of the history of the difficulties and hardships of the early settlers of Plymouth and Jamestown, and feeling that by perseverance and patient endurance they, also, might succeed, answered: “No; I have been two years searching for a home in Africa, and I have found it, and I shall stay

here." In this determination the whole company, as though moved by some divine impulse, heartily concurred. Nevertheless, their situation was extremely perilous; the natives had again suspended all intercourse with them, leaving them in a painful state of apprehension and suspense. They knew, however, in whom they trusted, and upon whose strength they might rely. The arrival in the harbor, pending this uncertainty, of a British man-of-war, was particularly opportune, and doubtless delayed an attack upon the settlement, which, as was afterwards learned, had been concerted. The commander had an interview with the chiefs, and strongly remonstrated against their course towards the settlers. They listened sullenly, and replied evasively. The commander then tendered to the colonists a small force of marines, to aid in their defense, in case of need, and, at the same time, suggested the cession of a few feet of ground, on which to erect a British flag during his sojourn; but this, Elijah Johnson, then in charge of the colony, declined, for the reason, as he stated, "that it might cost more to pull down that flag than to whip the natives." However, the services of the marines were not brought into requisition. Thus matters continued, when, on the 9th of August, the hearts of the settlers were cheered by the arrival of another small company of emigrants, with the intrepid and self-sacrificing Jehudi Ashmun, who entered immediately on the duties of his office as agent of the American Colonization Society. Mr. Ashmun, having carefully surveyed the situation, pushed forward with great energy the defenses of the settlement, and in the meantime, exerted every possible effort to reconcile the natives. The slavers, however, becoming more intent upon the purpose of ridding themselves of neighbors so inimical to their traffic, assembled a council of chiefs, and, by most inhuman artifices, so excited their cupidity as to induce King George, Chief King of the Dey tribe, to declare his intention of sacking and burning the settlement.

Intelligence of this declaration, and of the preparations being made for carrying it into effect, reached the settlers, through a friendly native, who, at great personal hazard, found the means of advising them from time to time of what was going on. Our brave pioneers, with breathless anxiety, awaited the impending struggle, when, at early dawn, on the morning of the 11th of November, about eight hundred warriors, with deafening whoops, fell upon them with great fury. They were met, however, with steady firmness, and repulsed with considerable loss. The colonists again breathed freely in the hope that their most serious troubles were now fully ended. But not so. King George, with great secrecy, collected another and greatly augmented force, intending to surprise the settlement on all sides, and thus make the settlers an easy prey. Happily for them, their good fortune in this extremity failed them not. Bob Grey, an influential chief of Grand Bassa, whom King George had attempted to enlist in his second attack, and who knew all his plans, con-

veyed to Mr. Ashmun timely information of all George's arrangements, and even named the day on which the attack would likely be made.

Now, another very serious embarrassment presented itself. In the last fight the settlers had expended a large portion of their ammunition, especially powder; and how and where to obtain an additional supply of this needed article were questions of the deepest concern. No trading vessel had visited the harbor for some time; and despair began to dispel hope, when relief came in a very remarkable manner. During night, while an English trading vessel was passing the Cape, the attention of the master was attracted by frequent reports of musketry on shore, which seemed to him singular at so late an hour, and, wishing to learn the cause, turned and entered the harbor, and, in the morning, ascertained that the natives had been indulging, through the night, a grand war-dance—usual on such occasions when preparing for war. Unobserved by the natives, a sufficient supply of powder was obtained from this vessel.

The dreaded time, as advised by Bob Grey, having arrived, sure enough, during the night of the 1st of December, 1822, the native troops occupied positions on three sides of the settlement, as they supposed, unobserved; and in the gray of morning rushed, like so many demons, upon the almost defenseless stockade. But the colonists, with unflinching courage, notwithstanding the fearful odds against them, defended themselves bravely; and after a desperate conflict of several hours, found themselves again wonderfully preserved. I say wonderfully, because on this occasion the colonists seem to have exerted superhuman strength and powers of endurance, for there were only thirty-five effective men opposed to a host of not less than fifteen hundred native troops. Some of the soul-stirring incidents and acts of real heroism on that memorable day would, I presume, if mentioned here, scarcely be credited.

A day of thanksgiving was proclaimed, which the colonists strictly observed in prayer and praise to Almighty God for His wonderful deliverance.

But King George and his slave-trading prompters were not yet satisfied. He again consulted his "gree-grees," and being again reassured of success, he determined on another attempt; and to place success this time beyond peradventure, he would employ a force sufficiently large to overwhelm and destroy the colony, without the possibility of escape. With this view, he sought to engage the services of King Boatswain, of Boporó, the most powerful and dreaded chieftain in that region. At his invitation, King Boatswain, with a large retinue of warriors, made a visit to King George, which was protracted several days, causing the colonists extreme anxiety. King George, however, could present no just ground of complaint against the colonists—therefore, Boatswain not only condemned his unprovoked enmity toward them, but, in very decided

terms, announced his determination to protect them in their new home. King Boatswain then called on Mr. Ashmun, informed him of the result of his interview with King George, and assured him of his friendship. Neither Mr. Ashmun nor King George mistrusted King Boatswain's sincerity, and very soon a good understanding was established with all the surrounding tribes.

Now was settled definitely the question of a permanent asylum. Liberia was established. Emigration increased; intercourse and trade with the natives also increased; new settlements were formed; and in a few years the colony assumed an importance which secured to it several important immunities.

Yet many hardships and serious embarrassments had to be encountered. The unhealthiness of the climate was a formidable enemy; and the slave-traders along the coast ceased not their tamperings with the native chiefs to incite them to acts of hostility against the colony.

But the time arrived when the colonists found themselves in a situation sufficiently advanced, not only to frustrate the machinations of these fiendish plotters, but to put in execution also their own long-cherished purpose of doing all in their power to extirpate a traffic which, aside from the extreme cruelties of the middle passage, had, for many years afflicted Africa with all the attendant consequences of war, rapine, and murder.

On the execution of this purpose the colonists entered with a hearty good-will; and, besides efficient service rendered from time to time by foreign cruisers then employed in suppressing the slave-trade on that coast, the slave barracoons at Mamma Town, Little Cape Mount, Little Bassa, New Cestors, and Trade Town, were demolished, and thousands of slaves liberated, solely by the power of the little Commonwealth; and there was no relaxation of this purpose until every slaver had been expelled from the whole line of coast now comprehended within the territorial jurisdiction of Liberia.

During these years, all that related to the public welfare and general progress of the colony received proper attention. The Society's agents devoted themselves assiduously to the Governmental interests of the colony, and the colonists to their respective industrial pursuits, with a zeal and activity truly commendable.

As immigration increased, new points of the coast were selected and occupied. Settlements were formed at Junk River, Grand Bassa, Sinoe, and Cape Palmas; and soon a lucrative legitimate trade began to develop itself between the colonists and the natives.

In the meantime, the religious and educational interests of the people were not only *not* neglected, but every possible means were employed to extend and improve these; and it is with feelings of profound gratitude I allude to the fact that Liberia is to-day greatly indebted to the several Missionary Societies of the United States for the timely and efficient

efforts made in behalf of colonists and natives to advance these essential interests; and I shall hope that these Societies will continue their Christian efforts until Africa, poor degraded Africa, shall be wholly redeemed from her present state of cruel barbarism.

Under the fostering care and political guidance of the American Colonization Society, Liberia continued to advance in all her important interests. Her territorial limits increased by purchases from native chiefs, who were glad to place themselves and their people under the protection of the Colonial Government. A profitable trade, in African products, along the Liberian coast, soon attracted the attention of enterprising merchants in Europe, and in the United States; foreign vessels made frequent visits to Liberian ports; and for many years this commercial intercourse was reciprocally remunerative and harmonious. But the time came when certain British traders repudiated the right of the Colonial Government to require of them the payment of custom duties on merchandise landed at points where, for centuries, British merchants had been accustomed to trade; and also claimed to have purchased from the natives, with the perpetual right of free trade, certain tracts of land, for trading purposes, before the territories embracing said tracts were purchased and brought within the jurisdiction of Liberia. The Government, of course, declined to recognize these demands as paramount to its political authority, and therefore continued to enforce its revenue laws. These traders invoked the interference of British naval officers serving on the coast; these officers, after unavailing remonstrances, submitted the question to the British Government; that Government demanded a full concession of the immunities claimed by British subjects. A long and perplexing correspondence ensued between British naval officers, acting under special instructions from their Government, and the Colonial authorities. Her Majesty's Government maintained that, as the American Colonization Society, composed of mere private individuals, possessed no political power, and of consequence could delegate no such power to others; and as the levying of imposts is the prerogative of a sovereign power only, and as Liberia had no recognized national existence, she must, therefore, desist from all interruptions to the free intercourse of British commerce. And the Liberian authorities were given distinctly to understand that this decision would be enforced by the British navy.

Under this emphatic announcement, but one alternative remained open to the colonists, and this involved questions of the gravest importance, which awakened in Liberia, as well as on the part of its friends in this country, most serious reflections. For two years or more, the subject was under constant and earnest consideration; when, in January, 1846, the American Colonization Society, by a formal vote, recommended that the colonists "take into their own hands the whole work of self-government, and publish to the world a declaration of their true character as a sov-

foreign independent State." The following October, the colonists also voted to dissolve their political connection with the Society, and to assume the entire responsibility of government, with independent sovereign power. A Constitution, adapted to the new order of things, having been adopted, by delegates assembled in Convention for the purpose, July 26, 1847, and duly ratified by the people the following September, the Government was thus reorganized, and entered, with some misgivings to be sure, upon its new career and increased responsibilities.

Its recognition by other Powers now claimed the earliest attention, and without delay measures were taken to this end by soliciting of foreign Governments an interchange of friendly national relations. And, within a year after the new organization, England, France, Prussia, and Belgium had acknowledged the independence of the new Republic; and shortly afterwards treaties of friendship, amity, and commerce were concluded with the two former.

In the meantime, the domestic affairs of the country had progressed as satisfactorily as might reasonably be expected. Several matters of dispute between native chiefs were adjusted and settled; public improvements were extended; agriculture and commerce increased; and the people had steadily advanced in all the essentials of civilized life. Nevertheless, in the midst of this evident progress, many difficulties and embarrassments had to be met and overcome. Occasional predatory incursions of the natives had to be checked and sometimes severely punished by the military power of the Government; and foreign traders also, particularly British, caused the Government much trouble and annoyance. But, in the order of a beneficent Providence, all were successfully accomplished, and the majesty of the laws eventually maintained.

From the beginning, the people of Liberia, with a commendable zeal and firmness, pursued a steady purpose towards the fulfillment of the great objects of their mission to Africa. They have established on her shores an asylum free from political oppression, and from all the disabilities of an unholy prejudice; they have aided essentially in extirpating the slave-trade from the whole line of her Western coast; they have introduced the blessings of civilization and Christianity among her heathen population; and I may also assume that by their entire freedom from all insubordination or disregard of lawful authority, and by their successful diplomacy with England, France, and Spain, on matters involving very perplexing international questions, they have indicated some ability, at least, for self-government and the management of their own public affairs.

And just here—as I find that exceptions are pretty generally taken in this country to the exclusion of whites from all participation in the Government of Liberia—I may remark that this provision in the organic law of the Republic was not prompted by any feelings of prejudice against white men, but was desirable more especially for the reason that the colonists

would retain in their own hands the whole control of the Government until they should fully demonstrate the problem as to their ability to conduct the affairs of a State. And, Mr. President, this, I suppose, may now be accounted as settled. The Republic of Liberia is now a fixed fact, with all the elements of free institutions and self-government, embracing within her territorial limits, at the present time, about six hundred miles of sea-coast, and an interior over which she may readily acquire an almost unlimited jurisdiction whenever she shall be prepared to occupy it. Within her political jurisdiction is a population of not less than six hundred thousand souls. Of this number fifteen thousand emigrated from the United States and other civilized countries; about four thousand recaptured Africans, and the remainder aboriginal inhabitants, and of these, hundreds have been hopefully Christianized, and many have become, in their civilized habits, so assimilated to the Americo-Liberians, that a stranger would not readily on the streets discriminate between them.

In the four counties of the Republic are thirteen flourishing civilized towns and villages, with their churches, school-houses, and comfortable dwellings: many of these constructed of stone and brick, and not only imposing in their external structure, but actually possessing all the necessary comforts and many of the conveniences of modern times; and reflect much credit upon the industry and enterprise of their occupants.

The developments of agriculture and commerce are no less conspicuous. The agricultural settlements, especially along the banks of the rivers, present most encouraging prospects. Besides an increased and steadily increasing production of all minor articles, sugar and coffee (to the growth of which the climate and soil are admirably adapted) are being extensively cultivated; and large quantities of both are now annually exported to foreign markets.

Commerce has more astonishingly increased. I can remember when not more than thirty or forty tons of palm-oil, and perhaps as many tons of cam-wood, could be collected in a year, for export, along the whole line of coast now embraced in Liberia. The last year, though I have not at hand the official statistics, I may safely say, not less than six hundred tons of cam-wood, twelve hundred tons of palm-oil, and two hundred tons of palm-kernels were included in the exports of the Republic. And these articles of commercial enterprise and wealth are capable of being increased to almost any extent.

Ship-building for the coast-wise trade has become quite a business in each of the counties. Last year three *Liberian* vessels, of foreign build, were dispatched for Liverpool with full cargoes of palm-oil, cam-wood, and ivory.

I could heartily wish that the cause of civilization and Christianity, among the aboriginal tribes of that country, had advanced with equally

rapid strides as that of commerce; nevertheless, much real good has been accomplished in that direction also. Devoted missionaries from the United States have labored earnestly, many of them even sacrificing their lives in efforts to promote the Christian welfare of that people. Among the Americo-Liberians their Christian civilization has always been an object of deep solicitude. And it is a source of peculiar satisfaction to know that the Christian efforts in their behalf have not been fruitless. It is no uncommon thing even now, and all times a most pleasing spectacle, to see so many of these people, once the blind victims of heathenish superstition and idolatry, bowing side by side with their Americo-Liberia brethern at the same Christian altar, and worshipping the only true God. Nay, even more, there are now native Christian ministers and teachers in Liberia who are laboring successfully in the cause of Christ. Most of these native ministers and teachers, members respectively of the several Christian denominations, are men of seemingly deep piety, and very respectable acquirements and talents. If time permitted, I might particularize several of these, as well as other native converts, who, as citizens of the Republic, have distinguished themselves for usefulness, not only in the ordinary walks of life, but also in official positions under the Government. I may, however, allude to a single case: that of a native gentleman, who, about twenty-five years ago, then a heathen lad, was admitted into a Methodist mission school at Monrovia, where he received the first impressions of civilization, and acquired the rudiments of an English education; and who is now an acceptable member of the Liberia Annual Conference, and an influential member of the Legislature of the Republic. And yet, Mr. President, there are those who inquire, "What has African colonization accomplished?" Well, my own conviction, confirmed by many years' experience in nearly all that relates to colonization and Liberia, is, that African colonization has accomplished a work unparalleled, as far as my knowledge goes, by anything in the history of modern times.

I rejoice to meet here to-night so many distinguished Christian philanthropists who, for these many years, have devoted much of their time and substance to this noble enterprise; and I may be pardoned, I trust, in expressing the sincere satisfaction it affords me in seeing present at this meeting that old, devoted, and self-sacrificing friend of Africa and of African colonization, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who, by his burning eloquence, in the days of his early manhood, and at times when this great Society seemed to languish under depressing discouragements, would stir the hearts of Christians in its behalf, and kindle there a flame of generous benevolence which would give new life and energy to the great undertaking; and, still more, not content to rely wholly on the testimony of others in regard to the actual condition of the infant colony, and to satisfy himself more fully as to its future prospects, he visited

Liberia several times, and on two occasions was enabled to render important service to the little Commonwealth. I am happy to say that the people of Liberia to-day entertain towards our good friend, Mr. Gurley, sentiments of the highest regard and esteem; and, I may also add, toward this Society, feelings of profound gratitude. But, Mr. President, I was about to say that these long and tried friends of African colonization entertain no doubts as to the immense benefits conferred upon Africa through the instrumentality of this Society, and who can now look back with profound satisfaction upon the cheering results of their individual efforts in the cause of God and humanity.

So much then for the past and present of Liberia. So far, God has graciously vouchsafed to her on occasions of threatened danger and extreme peril, deliverances which no human forethought or mere human power could possibly have averted or rescued her from. He has wonderfully sustained and prospered all her essential interests. What, then, may we not hope and reasonably expect as to the future? My own convictions are that Heaven has great things in store for Africa, to be conferred doubtless through the instrumentality of Liberia.

While Liberia is emphatically the offspring of American benevolence and Christian philanthropy, and while the friends of African colonization have great reason to be proud of its achievements, it is no less clear in my mind that the colonization enterprise was conceived in accordance with a Divine purpose, looking to the redemption and elevation of a people long enchained in the shackles of cruel barbarism. And, if this be so, Liberia is evidently designed to a glorious future; and that it is so, her past history seems clearly to indicate, for we find there so many evidences of Divine favor we are forced to the conclusion that Providence has not done so much for nothing. And besides, in the ordinary course of human affairs, there seems to me no reason whatever why Liberia may not continue to prosper, and go on to distinguish herself in all that adorns civil society and tends to national greatness.

The country possesses certainly all the natural advantages common to most other countries, and in the means of animal subsistence, perhaps superior to any other. I am aware that this beneficence of nature may be regarded as a very questionable advantage, as it tends greatly to promote indolent habits. But this, I may safely say, no country in the world better remunerates labor, and especially the labors of the husbandman, than Liberia.

The interior presents a country inviting in all its aspects: a fine rolling country, abounding in streams and rivulets; forests of timber in great variety, abundance, and usefulness; and I have no doubt quite salubrious, being free from the miasmatic influences of the mungrove swamps near the coast.

The commercial resources of Liberia, even at the present time,

though scarcely commenced to be developed, are of sufficient importance to induce foreigners, American and European, to locate in the Republic for the purposes of trade. And I verily believe the agricultural and commercial sources of wealth in Western and Central Africa are far beyond the most carefully studied speculations of those even who are best acquainted with the nature and capacity of the country. The development of these will continue to progress, and must, in the very nature of things, secure to Liberia great commercial importance; and this will bring her citizens into such business relations with the peoples of other portions of the world as will insure to them that consideration which wealth, learning, and moral worth never fail to inspire.

With what rapidity Liberia shall progress in her future career is a question involving several considerations; and, doubtless, the most important among these is a strict adherence by her people to the principles of true Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who disposes all things according to His own will. Of course, much also depends upon additional help from the United States to aid in advancing still more rapidly the civilizing and Christianizing her present aboriginal population, and so prepare them for greater usefulness as citizens of the Republic; and this work shall go on penetrating into the interior, until other heathen tribes shall be brought within the scope of Christian civilization and incorporated in the Republic, thus forming an African nationality that will command the respect of the civilized world. All this I believe to be entirely practicable. I believe Heaven designs that Africa shall be redeemed; that the light of the Gospel of Christ shall shine there; that her great natural resources shall be developed; that she shall take rank with other States and Empires; that she shall have a literature and a history. Is there any reason why all this may not come to pass? I trow not. Liberia has already made rapid strides—now in treaty relations with thirteen foreign Powers, including the United States. Then, surely, we have every reason to hope and believe that a kind Providence will continue to watch over all her interests, and that her future career will be equally progressive.

I know, Mr. President, you believe the Divine decree, that "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God;" doubtless all Christians believe this. Would, then, that Christians throughout these United States, and indeed all Christendom, fully appreciated the responsibility they are under to aid in the fulfillment of this inspired prophecy; then, surely, this Society, under whose auspices so much is being done toward the furtherance of that grand event, could not fail to receive that sympathy and support necessary to the efficient prosecution of an enterprise which promises so much real good to Africa.

CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY,

PROMOTED BY

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, JANUARY 19, 1869,

BY

S. IRENÆUS PRIME, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

It occurs to me, in approaching this great subject, that we are enlarging the area of freedom on the plan that infinite wisdom put into operation in early ages and has employed even down to our times for the advancement of the human race and populating of the globe. When the dispersion of Babel builders scattered colonies abroad, it was but repeating on a broader platform the separation of those who survived the deluge and became colonists of Asia, Europe, and Africa. History, poetry, and fiction, even heathen mythology and vague traditions, have chronicled the planting of colonies on inhospitable shores, the struggles of infant settlements, long years of hardships, when tempests and cold and heat and famine and pestilence and war, discouragements, disasters, treason, desertion, death, all evils dire have rocked in the storm the cradle of infant nations—nations that in the future of their manhood became rivals and foes and perished by each other's hands. The Great Sea separated Carthage and Rome, but they were both colonies, frowning their hate across the waters and thirsting for each other's blood. Rome sent her colonies, like the light of the sun, into all the world, and her people unto the ends of the earth. Her ruins, dug from the soil of every country in Europe, are the dumb but eloquent witnesses of the civilization she carried into Gaul and Britain

and through them to the spot where now a new world gathers her sons in the capitol that bears a name more illustrious than Hannibal or Cæsar. Roman law—the science of jurisprudence—by Roman progress round the earth, has made itself a living part of the government of every civilized race of men.

And when God left men in England and on the continent to become the oppressors of their kind, so as to drive the colonists from Britain and Holland and France to Jamestown and Plymouth and Manhattan, He, the Infinite and Eternal, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, was only sowing the seed of that glorious harvest which now waves in beauty and abundance from the rock-bound coast of New England to the golden gates of the setting sun.

Colonization was the germ; emigration has fructified and brought it onward. It has been born and nurtured and has grown to be a power in the earth; it reaches across a continent; it opens its arms to the old world, from which it came, and asks the people of all lands to come and find a home.

Where, do you ask, are the tribes who once peopled the forests and the plains now covered with cities and vexed with railways and ploughs? Gone! and another, a better, happier, more useful race dwells on the graves of a departed people.

Such is the order of Providence and nature both, and, perhaps, it will be the order of things in the revolution of cycles that mark the roll of the earth through succeeding ages of time. The population of the globe has steadily advanced in numbers, and will, while barbarism disappears before the advance of civilization. The races that reject God and debase humanity perish upon the approach of the higher order and type of men as the darkness of midnight flies at dawn. Thus the aggregate of human happiness grows on earth. If he who makes two blades of corn grow where one only grew before is a public benefactor, how much higher the benediction conferred by him who makes a mighty nation of intelligent, useful, Christian, happy people live and thrive and rejoice where savage barbarity, misery and sin for untold ages of wretchedness have had their dark and horrid reign.

We plant Christian missions in the islands of the sea, and they cast away their idols to the moles and the bats; but the

converted natives, the regenerated people, do not multiply and grow. They are dying out: the murmur of the ocean on their coral shores is the nation's dirge. But another race is coming—is there—is planting and sowing and buying and selling and building, worshipping God, marrying and multiplying, and the islands of the sea are rejoicing in God's law, His law of production, of civilization, of propagating nations.

This process is very simple—silent, indeed, like all the great forces of nature, but like them, also, resistless and inevitable. He who taketh up the isles as a very little thing, who guides the destinies of nations and individuals, and sees the end from the beginning, manages the course of empire with infinite skill and works stupendous results.

There lies, a few days' sail to the east of us, a land in the shadow of death. Centuries of darkness and despair have brooded over its inhabitants, who have obeyed the law of depraved humanity in going onward and downward in misery and sin, without the restraining influence of education or religion. The sun shines there as on us, but there is no healing in his beams. The moon and stars look as lovingly on the mountains and rivers

“Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sands;”

but moon and starlight is cold and brings no life to souls that are dead in sin. There man has gone down in the scale of being toward brutes that devour each other, till human life has ceased to be worth a straw and blood is cheaper than water. The mind staggers under the thought that there is a land, a continent, where the death of a chieftain is the signal for the sacrifice of scores of his fellow-men on his sepulchre! that there is a spot on this planet of ours where a woman is slaughtered more frequently than a calf, and so utterly extinct is the love of life and the principle of hope in the human breast, that the victim bleeds without a sigh and lies down to die as cheerfully as to a night's repose.

Now, the point we make is just here and this, that such a land is over against us and at our doors. Go down to the sea-coast at summer time and listen to the sighing and mourning of the ocean as it breaks at your feet; you call it, and, perhaps,

it is, the murmur of the sea; but it is more—those waves are freighted with the groans of a wretched race of your fellow-men, writhing and shrieking under the agonies of despair.

Why is not our land to-day like that? Our colonists were not Christians, all of them nor most of them. They were, in no sense, missionaries of the Gospel. They came to buy and sell and get gain, to find gold, to better their temporal state. The law that brought them here was the same that sends our colored friends to Africa; they could do better here than in Europe; our friends can do better there than here, and they go for themselves to have a fair chance, to be men, equal and noble, erect in the majesty of manhood, with the destinies of a Republic and a continent in their hands; its honorable responsibilities on their shoulders; its future to make and its rewards to win and wear.

Going there they carry with them the principles and the example of Christian civilization. They are a light and power on the margin of a continent that is now the habitation of cruelty. We need not send statesmen, or philosophers, or preachers. We send civilized men and women of good moral character, and plant them there, and they are the germ of the seed that is to spring up into a tree, whose leaves are to heal the wounds of bleeding Africa and whose branches are to be the sheltering arms of a redeemed and blessed race. This was the result of colonization in Greece, in Italy, in England, in America. It will be in Africa; and the day of her redemption, thank God, is drawing nigh.

But this is only an incidental result of your mighty scheme. I think angels would like to have a hand even in this. Our work is with the people of color here, to give them a settlement there, for their own good, *if they want to go!* That is the idea: "with their own consent;" there is no compulsion about it; they can stay here if they like it better; there is no pressure, no constraint, not so much as there was on the sailor who was asked if they were really compelled to go to prayers on the Cunard steamer on Sunday: "Why, no," he said, "not exactly *compelled*; but if we don't go they stop our grog." No; there is not so much as this; for their grog is more likely to be stopped if they go to Africa. But if they want to go, here we are to

help them with a God bless you, and a free passage, and six months' support, and a farm of their own, and a chance to be men of substance and influence and usefulness and honor, and to have a hand in the salvation of fatherland from pagan abomination and its exaltation to its place among the civilized races of the world.

And I ask, in the name of liberty—that dear, old, glorious, and greatly abused word—I ask, in the name of liberty and humanity and of God, the Father of us all, if an American-born citizen, whose liberty was just now bought for him, at the cost of half a million of white men's lives and a debt of \$3,000,000,000, has not the right of going where he pleases and staying there? We have settled that principle with Britain and Germany. Have we not, also, settled it for ourselves? If the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, may he not, at least, change his spots? If he does not like one spot, may he not go to another? And rights and duties are reciprocal, never conflicting. If it is his right and privilege to go, it is our duty and privilege to help him. There was no lack of Emigrant Aid Societies to help men to go to bleeding Kansas when she stretched forth her hands for aid. I found Emigrant Aid Societies in Germany and Switzerland and Ireland. It is the noblest philanthropy that helps those who help themselves. And when the fire from Heaven has entered into the soul of an African in any part of the world, and he is longing to return to the land of his sires to kindle the flame of pure worship on altars long since cold and fallen, there is the man whom I would take by the hand and lead him to the ship and say: "This is the way to save thyself and thy fatherland; go, and the Lord be with thee!"

Coming home from Egypt some years ago across the Mediterranean sea, I was on shipboard with a hundred negro boys, who had been bought in the interior of Africa and brought down the Nile to Cairo and Alexandria, and were now being taken to Italy by their purchasers. Who and for what? They were bought by Roman Catholic missionaries, who were taking them to Italy to teach them the Christian religion, that they might return to Africa and convert their countrymen. A mistaken charity, perhaps; not the wisest way to do good, but

well meant and noble in its purpose. It is a better way this of ours, that takes these men and women, whose fathers and mothers were torn from Africa, and sends them back with knowledge of the arts of civilized life, and the way of higher life through Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life Himself. These are the instruments by which other lands have been enlightened; they may be the salvation of Africa.

I would not put the pressure of a straw upon any man to change his country or his clime. I go in for the largest liberty of choice, and claim it for myself and my colored friends. They are rational and intelligent; if they are not, we do not want them for colonists; but with reason and knowledge, they are not blind to the inevitable facts of the future that stare them in the face as to the destiny of this continent of ours. It is for the Anglo-Saxon race. The Celtic, the Teutonic, the Chinese, any or all races may come here; but they come into the American crucible, melting them all into one, and the Anglo-Saxon, the dominant power in the country and the world, is to be the ruling force in the land. It requires no prejudice of color to make one believe that no such amalgam can be or should be with the African race. Its effects are too palpable in the laws of race to permit them to be ignored or despised; and it is the last and lowest prejudice that shuts the mind against the evidence, and promises to the African what he never can have in Europe or America.

Mr. President, when will philanthropy rise to the grandeur of its origin?—the divine love of man; love of the human race; love that worketh no ill to his neighbor; love that knows no bounds of continent, country, or color; love that recognizes every man as a brother, for whom every brother is bound to labor and pray. Such philanthropy, broad as the world and boundless as the sea, abjures that policy that forbids labor to go where it can do the best for itself; that would forever keep the poor poor, that the rich may be richer; that would doom a whole race of free colored people to a life of menial toil and to wasting generations of dependence, when God in his wonder-working Providence has brought them up out of the wilderness, opened the way for them through the Red Sea of blood, and shown to them, as from Pisgah's summit, the promised

land, where every man may be a sovereign, an independent freehold farmer, with competence, comfort, and usefulness which is the highest glory and the chief end of man.

I see in this assembly a venerable man, who gave the vigor of his youth and early manhood and the wisdom of his riper years to this scheme of Christian philanthropy, and whose name will be enrolled with Mills and Ashmun, as one whose life has been nobly given to African Colonization. A year ago, for the third time, he went to Liberia to see the rising fortunes of the youthful empire, planted and watered there by him and his associates in this glorious work. I hold in my hand and will read a few of the words of welcome to our illustrious Gurley by a colored colonist, speaking for himself and his colored brethren there—

“Among the early and tried friends of Liberia the name of Ralph R. Gurley stands prominent, and we, venerable and reverend sir, say, in the fullness of our hearts, we *thank you*. The palms that have sprung up in every direction and yield rivers of oil, that invite the merchant fleet of legitimate trades that you see in our harbors, *thank you*. No longer do the hell-hounds of the devil—the slave-traders—infest our coasts and strip Africa of her sons and daughters; no more do the tribes on this coast shudder to see a white man. Their smiling faces thank you. Slave barracoons are no more to be seen; they are numbered with the things that have passed. But churches of the living God, with their steeples pointing heavenward, houses of respectable dimensions and architectural by construction, that would not disgrace any city of christendom, rise up and *thank you*. Schools and colleges, halls of justice, and executive mansion and departments, swell the number and ery aloud *we thank you*. The influx of emigrants, who hail this as the promised land, and the Ethiopian in the far interior, as they catch the sound from us and our children, will continue to cry *we thank you*.”

That is eloquence, negro eloquence, exulting in freedom, intelligence, and power. It speaks of a rising race, with the destinies of empire in its hand!

O, sir, how bitter the selfishness that meets the African and

scoffs at his aspirations for a home and name on his ancestral shores and among his fathers' sepulchres, and bids him stay here and work out his uncertain destiny, the bone of contention between the dogs of party, picked and gnawed in turns by both, and abandoned to the chances of a future always against the weak and in favor of the strong!

There is a higher, nobler, sweeter love than this. It was born of God. It made Jesus our brother, partaker of our humanity, and the redeemer of mankind, giving Himself an example and sacrifice for the Jew and the gentile, the Asian and African, for you and me. It is radiant with light divine and warm with angelic fire. It saith to the sons and daughters of that land of palms: stay here, if you will, and work out for yourselves the old, old problem, a life-struggle for a living on the earth; but if you come with us, we will do you good; we will show you a better way; we have a land of liberty, *Liberia* is its tuneful name, your fatherland, all yours, with its schools, its college, its halls of legislation, its seats of power, its happy homes, where plenty crowns the board, and joy dwells a constant guest with peace.

This is the work of the Society we serve and celebrate to-night. It is a God-like work; it blesses two continents; it is the almoner of mercies to those who go and those to whom they go; it is pure philanthropy, blessing those who give and those who receive; it is good, only good—owned of God, with its record on earth and on high.

EMANCIPATION AND RESTORATION TO THEIR FATHERLAND.

CORRELATE DUTIES

OF THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

TO THE

DESCENDANTS OF COLORED PEOPLE

DESIRING TO BE

COLONISTS IN AFRICA.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 20, 1874.

By GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D., of New York.

WASHINGTON CITY:

M'GILL & WITHEROW, PRINTERS AND STEREOTYPERS.

1874.

ADDRESS.

All human enterprises which result in great and permanent blessings to mankind begin in the feeble and limited efforts of a few men; they are prompted by convictions that take hold on deep principles of truth and right, which only a few minds of mature experience and free from personal ambition fully conceive; their full and comprehensive operation is retarded often for generations by the imperfect views and selfish spirit common to fallen human nature; but at length they triumph over every obstacle and command the admiration and support of nations and ages.

Such an enterprise is that of the colonization of the African Continent by the descendants of its people, brought two centuries ago to the eastern shore of North America. It is the world's latest and completest development of the law that emancipation of enslaved captives is necessarily coupled with the duty of their restoration to the land of their nativity. This duty, whether the enslaved be a captive taken in war or a bondman forced to labor, grows out of three relations universally recognized among mankind as of binding force: first, the right of the enslaved to the use of the powers God has given him in the home where God placed him; second, the claim set up by nations having the power to enforce it; and third, the united convictions of duty and interest which finally compel the captor and master to acknowledge this right and to yield to its demand.

The law of duty is drawn from the record of what men have thought and done in all ages of human history; and especially in primitive and simple times. All great writers on law and jurisprudence, from Solon to Blackstone, go back alike to Homer and Moses for precedents; to the one because the fiction is reality, being but a picture of human impulses as they show themselves in the actual life of men; the other because the

faithful chronicle of one nation's experience is but a transcript of the principles ruling all nations.

The principle of equity ruling individual and national duty to bond-servants among Asiatics is set forth in Jacob going back to his father with presents after a service of twenty years, and in the restoration of his descendants from centuries of bondage in Egypt, and afterwards in Assyria, when their masters, enriched by their labor, sent them back to their native land well provided for support in their settlement; and that universal law of recognized obligation is now seen in the stipulations of the Chinese, the Russian, and other governments in Asia, that no subject of theirs shall be removed for foreign service without the guarantee of his return by the employer. That same principle, always and everywhere ruling European mind and action, is pictured in the inexorable law which compelled the final restoration of the captive Helen to her Grecian lord, as it more quickly prompted the return of Briseis with gifts to her Trojan sire; and this law of inseparable connection between emancipation and restoration is still read in the demand on Turkey by the Allied Western Powers that the Greeks, after four centuries of bondage, should be restored both to their freedom and their property rights; it is now pending in the claim of both England and the United States as to the very doubtful case of the *Virginian* captives; and it is read in the order from the Italian Government, this morning published at New York, that children brought to this country by Italian padroni shall be returned before the 15th May to their homes at the cost of their masters.

The point for our consideration to-night is, that this principle is not only binding, but it has been specially recognized as still holding between enlightened and prospered America and benighted and down-trodden Africa. It is our privilege and pride to hail the fact that, in the entire history of our American nation, this principle has been both recognized and controlling; and that the American Colonization Society is its noble monument.

It should be always borne in mind in any survey of what men and nations have said and done, that our Divine Ruler and Redeemer has himself linked the impulses of interest and

duty indissolubly in man's nature; and He *means* that they shall never be severed in the noblest human endeavor, not even in the moral redemption of man. The very law of Heaven is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" the stimulus to Christian enterprise from the Divine Master's own lip is "an hundred-fold in this world" to him who "forsakes all" to promote His cause; human interests, individual and national, are legitimate appeals to engage in Christian enterprise; commerce is generally the pioneer of Christian missions; and no intelligent mind could have full confidence in the Colonization of Africa by restored natives if in every stage of its progress these divinely linked impulses of interest and duty were not found to be combined in the acts and words of the three parties concerned: the American whites who send the emigrants, the emigrants themselves who go, and the people of Liberia and of the African Continent who urge their claim to colonists.

The suggestions which have led to African colonization can be traced far back into the history of the American Colonies and of the infant nation; and it is worthy of remark that in each step taken American sentiment leads and British philanthropy follows; while both act from interest as well as from duty.

In August, 1773, before the American war, prompted by the desire of some young African slaves to return to their native land as Christian missionaries, Dr. Ezra Stiles, of Newport, R I., afterwards President of Yale College, joined by the celebrated theologian, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, wrote an address on the iniquity of the slave-trade, and proposed the education and sending out of these African youth as "the least compensation we are able to make to the poor Africans for the injuries they are constantly receiving from this unrighteous practice;" to which address responses came in the form of pecuniary contributions both from Scotland and New England. In 1787, the same year that the United States Constitution declared that the slave-trade should cease after twenty-one years, Dr. William Thornton published an address to the free people of color in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, proposing to become the leader of a colony to be settled on the West Coast of Africa.

Shortly after Dr. Hopkins corresponded with Granville Sharpe, of England, making a kindred suggestion; and in 1792, five years later, the Government of Great Britain at great expense transported the negroes captured in the American States during the war of Independence, who had been temporarily supported in Canada, to the new territory obtained for them at Sierra Leone, on the West Coast of Africa. From this day the duty of restoring at public expense the descendants of African captives to their native land becomes a controlling sentiment; which sentiment has not died out from the American breast, and cannot now be stifled except from a mistaken view of the interests and obligations involved.

England, led as America was to be, by united interest and duty, now enters the arena of active enterprise in paying her debt to Africa. The independence of America, cutting England off from a market in the Western World for her manufactures, turned the attention of our worthy ancestors to the East; bringing to her, also to both Asia and Africa, a blessing which a century ago no one dreamed of. For two centuries, from A. D. 1600, the English East India trading enterprise had been secondary to the American colonial; and the supply posts she had planted on the Western and Southern Coast of Africa had been but of temporary consideration. Now, however, that very Cornwallis who lost prestige at Yorktown was called to retrieve his honor in India. Soon extended territory in Southern and Eastern Asia, and in Western, Southern, and Eastern Africa, were gained by Great Britain for commercial purposes; and highways were opened along which English and American missionaries, with their wives and children, were seen pressing, their concord never disturbed even by the war of 1812. *Following America*, successive acts of the British Parliament in 1805, 1807, 1811, and 1824 were passed making the slave-trade first to have a limit, then to be a felony, and last to be piracy. Following again the Northern States, after many years Great Britain in 1834 abolished slavery in her West India Colonies; paying, however, \$100,000,000 as remuneration to the owners. To plant and sustain the Colony of Sierra Leone England expended in 1801 about \$116,000, and in 1802 made an appropriation of \$50,000 over and above the employ of her national vessels for transportation.

The field of movement now shifts to America. In 1800 Virginia, filled with free negroes by the humane acts of Washington and kindred spirits in emancipating their slaves, began to discuss the question of an asylum for them; and Monroe, then Governor of Virginia, and Jefferson, President of the United States, were enlisted. Interest, indeed, but mutual interest, that of the whites and blacks, met and mingled with deep convictions of duty. The Northwestern Territory, made free by Virginia's own act only thirteen years previous, was suggested as that asylum; but the humanity of those true friends of the colored people forbade the selection of a home so inelement and so exposed to white aggression, especially from the French Canadians. Under date of December 27, 1804, Mr. Jefferson suggested their incorporation with the English Colony of Sierra Leone, since the British Government had proposed to deliver up this Colony to home rule. Under date, again, of January 21, 1811, after he had ceased to be President, Mr. Jefferson, replying to an appeal of an Association of Friends who were urging from humanity African colonization, refers to his former suggestion as to Sierra Leone, against which objection had arisen, and adds: "You inquire whether I would use my endeavor to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly from the French? Certainly I shall be willing to do anything I can to give it effect and safety. * * * Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States themselves would undertake to make such an establishment on the Coast of Africa." Mr. Jefferson's suggestion as to Sierra Leone, he states, arose from the fact that the Colony was mainly made up of "fugitives from these States during the Revolutionary war;" and the obligation of the State of Virginia and of the United States to make pecuniary appropriation for this purpose admits no discussion in the mind of this strict constructionist.

The era for the rise of the American Colonization Society had now dawned. At the meeting for its organization, December 21st, 1816, Hon. Henry Clay, in an opening address, referred to three interests it sought to promote: first, that of the colored people; second, that of the whites of America; and he added as a third, "the moral fitness of restoring to the

land of their fathers" these exiles, since, said he, "if we can thus transmit to Africa the blessings of our arts, of our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate Continent?" He cited the Colony of Sierra Leone, planted by England, as an example both of the principle and of the promise for its fulfillment. Mr. Caldwell, who followed, referring to the expense which would necessarily attend it, said that there could hardly be a difference of opinion as to the fact that every section of the United States was alike interested and indebted; that it was "a great national object and ought to be supported by the national purse;" since, as Mr. Clay had declared, "there ought to be a national atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa had received."

The memorial sent, in accordance with this view, to Congress, was responded to by a report closing with two resolutions, which contained the following recommendation: that stipulations be obtained from Great Britain and other maritime powers, both for the suppression of the slave-trade, and also "guaranteeing a permanent neutrality for any colony of free people of color, which, *at the expense* and under the auspices of the United States, shall be established on the African Coast;" to which was added, "*Resolved*, That adequate provision should be hereafter made to defray any necessary expenses which may be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect." After some delay, from pressure of other business, Congress, on the 3d March, 1819, appointed an agent on the Coast of Africa to receive and colonize recaptives taken in slave ships. The sloop-of-war *Cyane*, with a merchant ship in convoy, and subsequently several vessels of war, were at the public expense employed in this service of national obligation. As it was now apparent that a nucleus of trained negroes was essential to the colony, who might be instructors and supporters of the almost helpless recaptives, Mr. Monroe interpreted the law just passed by Congress as necessitating the sending of select American negroes liberated by philanthropic masters for this mission, and also as providing for the buying of lands and the furnishing of other supplies necessary;

and thus in its equity the United States began to act on the principle of duty recognized in other lands and ages.

Eight years after this, in 1829, when twelve State Legislatures had united in commending the Colonization enterprise, Hon. Henry Clay addressed the Society of his adopted State, Kentucky, in that masterly speech of more than an hour in length, which did more than any single effort ever made to bring our country to view rightly the question of slave-emancipation as a moral law which was inevitably sooner or later to rule; while, too, the same speech gave the clear forecast of the provision for the emancipated which, sooner or later, our nation must make, or suffer the penalty of violated law. He refers to the fact that, in the council of diplomats assembled at Ghent, to form the treaty which fixed the relation of the new American States to the various States of Europe, a British jurist admitted the superior fidelity shown by the American States toward weak and dependent Indian tribes and African slaves; their acts, both before and after their independence, standing out in striking contrast to the course not only of Spain and France but even of England herself. He dwelt on the fact that as soon as they had the power, they carried out in good faith their remonstrances with the mother country against the slave-trade; providing in their very Constitution for its cessation as soon as previous British property guarantees to investments made in the traffic could be legally canceled. He argued that the humanity which controlled the mass of slaveholders not only permitted but encouraged manumission and provision for emancipated slaves; and declared that the day was not distant when interest and duty would unite to secure universal emancipation. He showed that the competition of white labor, which had driven the colored people of all the free States into obscurity, was now acting in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky; and that humanity as well as national indebtedness demanded the most studious consideration on the part of American statesmen as to their future provision. He pointed to the recognition of this duty witnessed in churches, especially among Christian women, but also in the acts of the Legislatures of more than half of the States of the Union and in the enrollment among the members of the

Colonization Society of "some of the most distinguished men of our country in its legislative, executive, and judicial councils." He urged that nothing but the substitution of white for colored laborers in the Southern States would give them the prosperity of the North; that the return of the exiles of Africa, properly trained and provided, would bring the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness to the teeming populations of two continents; with the union of freedom and republican institutions as a heritage to millions of their descendants. He hailed the enterprise as the fulfillment of the mission of the World's Redeemer and of the aspirations of his ardent and pious disciples to regenerate the two continents still left in heathenism. As to the expense incurred, he showed from careful estimates that one million of dollars applied annually for sixty or seventy years, less than \$75,000,000, paid as a national debt, would restore all the exiles to the land of their ancestry. Such a strain of eloquence has seldom fallen from the lips of any orator of ancient or modern times; such a tracing of the moral law of duty could never have been resisted, except by selfish cupidity, in any age; every point of its great argument has been intensified in each succeeding decade of American history since; if listened to in the day of its utterance, the words of Him who spake as never man spake would have been verified to the very letter, that the man and the nation true to God's law of righteousness towards the captive "shall receive an hundred-fold" for his fidelity; and if now, when that hundred-fold has been entered on the other side of the balance-sheet, and has been more than paid in the expense of the late war—if our nation and its people determine to do the duty that must be met towards the freed people of our country, they may save the generations soon to struggle for the mastery in the competition for life on our continent—they may save this last refuge of the needy—another accumulation of a debt that at a hundred per cent. of annually accruing increase must some day be fully paid. With a single allusion to the concurrent testimony of other statesmen of that day, we may pass to a glance at the proof of this still pending event revealed to the forecast of that generation of great men and of devoted lovers of their country and of the world.

Two years only after this speech of Mr. Clay, when his spirit, though a southern man, was awakening a counterpart in South Carolina nullification, at the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, held at Washington, and crowded by members from both Houses of Congress, letters from both ex-President Madison and Chief Justice Marshall were read. Mr. Madison, with pen tremulous with age, wrote: "The Society had always my good wishes;" and after stating the difficulties in its accomplishment, he meets the chief obstacle to colonization, the attendant expense, with a suggestion worthy of the State as well as of the nation which had so worthily honored him; in which suggestion the philanthropist towers above even the patriot, and yet much more above the sectionalist and the political bigot. "In contemplating," writes he, "the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation; which will soon entirely cease to be ours, under a pledge for another object. The great object in question is truly of a national character; and it is known that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slaveholding States, have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the colored population, are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect that the sections most to be benefitted are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of." Chief Justice Marshall's letter, by a marked law of common sentiment called forth at a common crisis, makes the same suggestion as to the public lands first made by Senator King, of New York, whom Madison, amid the spirit of nullification, calls a "distinguished patriot;" he says that this fund, ceded to the General Government without restriction as to its use by different States and chiefly by Virginia, is less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South;" and he concludes, as one inspired by the experience of 1832, with a vision of the scenes of 1862: "The whole Union would be strengthened by this act and be relieved from a danger whose extent can scarcely be estimated."

Forty years have passed since Madison and Marshall thus wrote and when Clay spoke for the ages with almost inspired forecast. And to-day how stand the three parties who in all ages have agreed that an emancipated captive must be restored with gifts, or the offended deity, the lawgiver of justice and equity, will not be appeased!

Let us glance a moment, first, at the white race, holding with tenacious grasp the soil, the foundation of all individual and national wealth; which the red man, appealing to Heaven, declares was his by ancestral heritage; and which the black man, since the war, has verily believed was to be portioned out among the race that had for two centuries tilled it for usurping landlords. He who sits above has demanded, as of the Trojan heroes refusing to agree in surrendering a stolen captive, hecatombs of human sacrifices, not less than one million of America's choice sons, two-thirds of them from the States that least recognized the debt which fathers impose on the estates they bequeath. He has exacted in the war expenditure an hundred-fold of the sum asked for by Mr. Clay thirty years before as adequate both for the emancipation and the return of the captives; and He has yet more cut off from our land, our ports, our ocean commerce, by an *indirect tax*, not recognized by human tribunals, but by a higher law *extorted*, a thousand-fold more than the sum contemplated by the statesmen of 1832. And now into our States come pouring literally hordes of the Old World, swarming our States, Massachusetts and South Carolina alike, as the Goths over Italy, ruling New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis as Attica and Alaric and Theodoric dominated Rome; and who supposes that this mass can be ruled by equity; aye more, that new lords may not seize on our inheritance, when equity towards the black man is not shown! We may well take up the warnings of both Madison and Jefferson, of Clay and Jackson, in 1832; for the utterances of those aged statesmen of the past century are not to be treated as the excited imaginations of a moment! They were the calm, compelled counsels of the truest friends of humanity when about to meet their own account as American leaders.

The second vital consideration, then, is, "What is justice and

equity to the colored race?" Three *home* proffers have been made! Have they brought the relief needed?

The first promised was *homesteads*. Gen. Patrick, the first Provost Marshal General of Virginia, a devout Christian of the Presbyterian church, as well as an able and spotless commander during the war, was obliged to restrain, by force, mistaken friends alike of the colored man and of their country, who told the people just freed alike from slavery and from military control, that their master's lands were to be divided up among them, and that the Government would provide them mules and implements for farming. Not the first acre has yet been given them; and no man in our country believes this would either be for the colored man's interest or justice to the white population; unless it be a revival of the idea of 1832—the devotion of the lands now lavished in railroad grants, to the furnishing of African colonists as payment of the national debt long due to them!

Then *labor* was proffered; and with promises of a proportion of the crops, a large portion of the colored people went confidently to their toil. But crops failed, necessarily; for the soil was exhausted; the laborer was unsteady and unskilled; two or three years impoverished proprietors and left laborers to starve; and all Government could do was to provide transportation to new and remote lands far south.

Then came the *ballot, eligibility to office, and the Civil-rights Bill*, upon which we will not dwell.

Turning now to Africa, what opens before us! How wonderful the changes the last twenty-five years have wrought; as if to prepare that continent to be the mission-field, the land of promise, the Caanan of rest to this weary, jostled, ontrun and dispirited people. Herodotus tells us of an Egyptian colony sent into Ethiopia, whose influence so advanced them that they at length made an effectual conquest of Upper Egypt, where, in the city of Thebes, they for some generations took on Asiatic culture; and Bunsen has indicated that this was the very era when David wrote, "Ethiopia shall *soon* stretch her hands unto God." Strabo, four centuries later, tells how Greek youth of Cyrene trained themselves for years to explore successfully the upper waters of the Nile; modern readers of Liv-

Livingstone's researches can compare the records and see that the ancient explorer passed over the track of the modern pioneer; Ptolemy's map, published a century after Christ, fixes the sources of the Nile just where Livingstone now places them, ten degrees south of the Equator; Grecian influence so penetrated Central Africa that the Ethiopian treasurer of Queen Candace, as Luke's record indicates, was reading the Greek translation of the Hebrew Isaiah; and the Greek language so influenced the dialects of the far interior as to appear in the vocabulary of the Yoruba people, living within the bosom of the Niger, as the late Smithsonian publication plainly indicates. Ten or twelve centuries yet later, the Arabian followers of Mohammed penetrated from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, south of the Great Desert; and so effectually have they impressed their religious convictions, that amulets containing passages from the Koran are found on the necks of slaves carried to South America from the Western Coast of Africa.

Three forms of ancient civilization have thus found the African mind susceptible to their impress. It remains to ask, whether another, and that a far higher, may not take its place.

Twenty-five years ago the encroachments of Persia and of Russia towards India began to give serious fears to English statesmen and merchants that the day might be hastened when India would be entered from both the West and the North, and when Great Britain's monopoly of its trade would come to an end. From that day, as not only her open acts but the confidential intimations of her agents have declared, the Continent of Africa has been singled out as the field of her explorations and of her intended future commerce. The settlement at Cape Coast Castle, on the south, has extended far up the Eastern Coast to Natal, and even to Zanzibar, and back into the interior to the diamond mines. From the Strait at the mouth of the Red Sea, British exploring agents excited the jealousy of Abyssinia; till six years ago the Abyssinian war made the road to the interior, through that Christian kingdom, a highway for English merchants. Within a few years, the island of Lagos, nigh the mouth of the Niger, was

seized ; and since that time loans from British capitalists to Liberia for roads to the interior indicate a policy leading to a monopoly of the commerce of Africa from that side. About five years ago, after the persevering interior explorations of the missionary Livingstone, followed by scientific and military leaders like Barth, Speke, and Baker, the latter, Sir Samuel Baker, with his wife and an armed escort of 1,500 Egyptian soldiers, bearing on the backs of bullocks three river steamers, whose parts were to be put together on the Nile above all obstructions, whence the inland lakes could be entered, has successfully planted a central commercial and military settlement, whence roads will be kept open to the Mediterranean on the North, to the Red Sea on the East, to the Atlantic on the West, and to Natal, if not Cape Coast, on the South. The last act of this concentrated conquest is now proceeding in the invasion of the territory of the Ashantees, whose subjugation will be the prelude to the submission of all the interior tribes.

And what inevitably must succeed to this commercial occupation? Unquestionably, just as from India after British occupation came a cry that reached England as well as America, and made Christian missionaries meet, even amid the war of 1812, as brothers in arms in a higher service, to herald Christ on "India's coral strand," so now from "Africa's sunny fountains" already comes the kindred call. What means it that Arthington was dreaming of an inland settlement back of Liberia, and that he sent to the American Colonization Society for choicest Christian colored men to lead it? Was the mind that penned that letter possessed by a fancy? or did a grand reality almost frenzy his appeal? Which sees farthest, the self-sacrificing philanthropist or the interested man of the world, as to the colored man's lofty mission for the world, as well as his only hope for his family and kindred? Let two or three of their own number declare.

In Richmond, Virginia, some twenty-five years ago, a mulatto youth, of sprightly mind and liberal home-education, gifted as a herald of Christ, longed to go and preach to his countrymen in Africa. His master gave him his freedom; the Mission Society of his native South gave him a salary; the Colonization ship granted him a passage; and for years he was an

efficient missionary in Liberia. When our civil war closed he came from Africa to visit his kindred, and to tell American freedmen of the land where they were not only freemen but nobles without rival; to pledge a farm to any family as the gift of the Liberian Government; and to thrill American Christians with the picture of spiritual harvest-fields ripe for the sickle, in the land where Egyptian science; Grecian art, and Mohammedan superstition were to be supplanted by the pure Christian faith. The voice of Rev. Mr. Hill rang at a large public convention in New York with eloquence that surprised and captivated; for his theme had inspired the man. He came to the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society at Washington, and on their behalf procured a passage to Liberia for any who would go. He was met by the romantic fancies of farms, and College education, and public offices, which dazzled the vision of his colored brethren. Towering like Moses before Israel when hesitating on the borders of Egypt, he exclaimed, "Be assured, in all that you are *justly* receiving from the American people, you are only borrowing the jewels of your old masters to bear them to the land of promise!" Every day since that appeal the mist has dissipated that was before his hearers' eyes; and now some of them see their mistake.

Some thirty years ago a tall, swarthy, but high-browed African, whose grandfather was seized in the interior of Africa as a captive from a cultured tribe, was displaying in Kentucky great power as a Christian preacher. At his desire his owner gave him his freedom, and he went as a missionary to Liberia. He disappeared from the Colony for years; but early during the civil war found his way back to America to rehearse his story and ask aid in his new work. Rev. Mr. Herndon had found his ancestral tribe; he had become a chief among them; he had won them to the Christian faith; he had allied them to the Liberian Republic; and now he sought means to rear a house of worship, with a Sabbath bell to ring forth its melody in a valley that never heard such music. He secured his desire; he returned to his field; and now he is at once Liberian judge in his district and a crier for the Judge of all the earth.

Some six years since, Robert Arthington, of Leeds, Eng-

land, gave £1,000 sterling to plant a settlement of select Christian families, as the first of a cordon back of Liberia, which he hoped might some day girdle the continent. The chosen band were found in North Carolina and brought together at Portsmouth, Va. At the farewell meeting their Christian leader exclaimed, in his parting address, "Thank God for American slavery! But for it I should have been born a heathen and could never have been Christ's herald to my countrymen in Africa." Just at that crisis the multiplying and earnest requests to be sent to Liberia led one of the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society at Washington to urge their claim to Government transportation by land, if not on the sea, upon the members of the Senate and other officers of the Government, who had it in their power to promote the claim. The appeal was met with the statement, "Oh! we want these select people here as laborers and as voters!" The question was asked in reply and pressed home—"Senator, General, are you not liable to be as selfish as you thought the slaveholders were ten years ago?" The appeal went home to Christian minds and American hearts! The train of facts presented in this address of to-night led Senator Fessenden, lately Secretary of the Treasury and at that time Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, to pledge himself as a leader in the effort to secure the same appropriation, \$100 each, for the ocean passage of freedmen, which the Government for years had paid for recaptives sent to Liberia. His death shortly afterwards cut short this mission.

During the administration of President Buchanan, a slave, called the "Wanderer" ran into Savannah, Georgia, freighted with slaves captured from a superior tribe of tradespeople in the interior of Africa. While the Secretary of the Navy was arranging for the return of these people to Africa, under the auspices of the Colonization Society, the people were scattered through the Gulf States. About ten years later, some six years ago, a missionary from Central Africa, Rev. Mr. Phillips, was addressing a large audience of colored people on the customs of the Yoruba people in Central Africa, when an unusual attention was observed in a cluster of finely formed, intelligent people, in the rear

of the house. To illustrate their language, the missionary repeated the Lord's prayer in the Yoruba tongue; when an irrepressible cry of delight came from this attentive band. At the close of the service they came pressing their way to the missionary, and in their native tongue told him the story of their capture, their dispersion at Savannah, and of their present freedom and their longing for home. He spoke of the Colonization Society; and they begged that they might be sent to Africa. Their case was named; the funds of the Society, consecrated to pay the passage of emigrants to Liberia alone, was more than absorbed for such applicants; and these captives, now asking return under American law, are yet unredeemed! To whom does their restoration belong! From whom is the passage money back to Africa for any captive yet unrestored due, but from the entire American people! Is it not time, when philanthropic individuals are giving colleges and sugar-mills, schools and tools to African colonists, and when Mission Societies are sustaining heralds of the Gospel for Africa's redemption,—is it not time for the American people and its Government to pay their *honest debt*, in giving transportation home to any applicant, and that *charity* be left to its appropriate work?

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 18, 1876,

BY

REV. JULIUS E. GRAMMER, D. D.

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1876.

ADDRESS.

We meet to-night to hear the Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society. The intensest interest attaches to the occasion, because of the great difficulties which threaten the work of the Society. The years which have passed have brought their burden of duty, of care, and of blessing; and we doubt not that the same Divine Providence which has watched over the cradle of the enterprise will ever guard and guide it in the struggles of its youthful manhood. The war-cloud which so often burst in its fury upon the old monarchies of Europe has cast its portentous shadow upon the rising Republic of Liberia. The hand which guides the star over the dark cloud-rifts, and keeps it burning as a beacon to the mariner, will not suffer to expire that light which, on the distant Coast of Africa, has cheered and blessed so many thousands. Our trust is in God, and hence we first of all invoke His blessing and support. We pray that He would stay the tide of blood and send peace and good-will to shine on that scene of insurgent strife and bitter conflict.

Shall we not, like the patriot orator of the American Revolution, assure our hearts to-night, as he did then, when he said; "Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty are invincible by any power. Besides, sir, a just God presides over the destiny of nations and He will raise up men to fight for us." The assurance gains strength, especially when we remember *the spirit and the object* which mark the effort of this Society and of that Republic. There was no array of contending authorities in the founding of this enterprise. There was no established government, whose yoke was to be broken: no prejudices and rights which were assailed and disputed. It was as when the land was given to the Father of the Jewish race, to choose where he would settle. Planting this colony upon the virgin soil, it was a root out of a dry ground. Watered by the tears of sympathetic charity and nurtured by the hand

of patient toil, it has grown to prove that it is a tree of the Lord's planting. It sprang from the germ of generous philanthropy. It was the outgrowth of a benevolence and love which, like that of St. Paul for the Jews, found its expression in his words; "my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved." Rescue, release, redemption, were the objects in view in founding Liberia; in launching the sacred argosy of the American Colonization cause. No armed soldiery confronted the rude people of that heathen shore; no menaeing fleets were sent to strike terror to their hearts or conquer them by the weapons of a carnal warfare. The ship which bore Mills and Burgess, in 1817, was sent upon an errand not of conquest or invasion, but "to find and procure a location where a colony in Africa might be planted."

The motives which have governed the friends and patrons of the cause, from its beginning, have been such as are worthy of the most enlightened statesmanship and the purest Christian philanthropy. We can never too often repeat the words of Mr. Clay, its most eloquent advocate, who said, "There is a peculiar, a moral fitness in restoring the free people of color to the land of their fathers. And if, instead of the evils and sufferings which we have been the innocent cause of inflicting upon the inhabitants of Africa, we can transmit to her the blessings of our arts, our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate continent?" The same sentiment is enforced by all the appeals of experienced statesmen, learned divines, and persuasive orators; the leading thought in the minds of Finley and Alexander, of Caldwell and Mercer, and of the most prominent men of the country, such as Monroe, and Clay, and Webster, was to devise some scheme by which this enslaved race might be educated in the principles of self-government and furnished with a home and country where their spirit and life might be blessed with the presence of Liberty and Religion. Can we doubt, then, that whatever obstacles or difficulties may for the time impede or embarrass the effort, that it will eventually be crowned with success?

We have much to be thankful for. There is our heritage

of names which have adorned the annals of this Society, and given its history a lustre of imperishable beauty. Around it have gathered the men who have been wise master-builders in the State and in the Church, and they have contributed to its treasury of their learning, their eloquence, and their wealth. Surely, it cannot be that such men whom we have named and those who still survive to plead this cause, have been mistaken. It cannot be that they were led away by a delusion, or a visionary fancy. They were not zealots or dupes. They spake in truth and soberness when they arose to say that this was "a great National object, and ought to be supported by the National purse," and that "there ought to be a National atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa had received." And certainly God will approve the motives and aims of all who cherish and further such an object.

We have to be *thankful for the success* which has crowned the effort. It is not indeed as great as we could desire, but we are not to despise "the day of small things." Contrast the present with the past. Think of the time when this Society began its work. Then the slave-trade was followed on that Western Coast as it is now on the Eastern. Now six hundred miles of this Coast of Liberia has been redeemed from that fearful traffic. We see now the flag of a free Republic floating over more than twenty thousand freemen, who are entrusted with the liberty, the laws, and the religious privileges of the most enlightened nation. We see that flag respected and recognized by the treaties of Great Britain, and America, and other Powers. We see the cheering spectacle of a Christian Republic, with its President and Legislature, its courts of justice, its schools and endowed college, its missionaries and ministers of Christ, heralding "the old, old story" of the Gospel; we see all the appliances and agencies of an increasing and fast-maturing civilization.

The young Republic has caught the spirit of her mother in America. The sea is vexed by the keels of her commerce, amounting in exports to several hundred thousand dollars. The press is multiplying as with the gift of tongues the messages and the means of knowledge. Public schools are opened and all the incentives furnished for the highest and best forms

of human effort. "The school-master is abroad" there, and who shall limit his influence? We look at New England to-day with its libraries, universities, and fountains of sacred and classic literature, and behold a spectacle which may well challenge comparison with any in the world. The colony of Plymouth declared: "Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, this court doth therefore aver, that in whatever township in this government, consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meek man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds, to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants." And why may we not hope for the same results with the qualifications only, which God's providence shall impose?

Soon the steam train will send the echo of this advancing civilization along the St. Paul's river and into the interior. Already publications in Arabic have been sent there and received friendly response. The contrast which is afforded by the experiment of only a quarter of a century, in the history of that Republic is amazing and glorious. The forests, which echoed with the war-cry of savages, and the roaring of fierce beasts of prey, have given place to the smiling fields where grow the most luxuriant and beautiful fruits, and where are heard the sounds of the church-going bells and the songs of pious worshipers. Thriving towns and villages dot the scene. The air rings with the voices of happy laborers, and the signals of well-regulated industry. As we hold the picture before us of happy homes and a free people, animated by the love of progress and advancement in all the elements of real prosperity, we may exclaim: "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." It is easy to find fault and start objections, but who can dare to say, in view of what has been done and is now seen on that Coast as the result of this effort, that it is a failure? Indeed, it is wonderful that the reverses have not been greater and the discouragements more forbidding. When the work was begun here, there were no such barriers to success, a few tribes of savages contested the field; but in Africa there were

superstitions and idolatries as ancient as the race, and a vast population of surrounding heathen.

The opinion of some persons is that there is no longer any necessity for this Society; that when slavery ended here its work was finished; and that it now becomes it to close its doors and hang out the badge of its funeral, as the result of the emancipation of four millions of enslaved Africans in the United States. But they who so object and reason surely err greatly. It never was the object of this Society to attain the emancipation of the slave *here*. There was nothing revolutionary of the law, or disruptive of the covenant, by which that dreadful evil was maintained here. It seeks (and never has sought anything else) but to colonize the free blacks of this country in Africa. It seeks by the aid of the philanthropist and the Christian, and as the Government and the States may aid, to furnish, all who are willing, the means to find a home, a country, a destiny and future of usefulness such as they have never had. Said the lamented and devoted Ashmun: "Never perhaps, in the history of man, has an object, affording equal scope for the exercise of Christian benevolence, been found capable of engaging in its support such a compass and variety of powerful motives as that of the American Colonization Society."* And so far from occasioning any disaffection in the spirit or any intermission in the labor of the Society, the emancipation of the slave seems to be the signal intervention of Providence in its aid. By that wonderful event, accomplished at a cost of blood and treasure which can scarcely be told, we are compelled to meet the claims of the colored man as never before. It is a problem which the wisest and holiest of the Nation must study and solve. Slavery seemed to stand like an armed guard at every avenue of approach for this work of colonizing, educating, and redeeming the race. But that stern sentinel is dead, and a wide and effectual door is opened. The chains are broken, and bitter indeed will be the reproach of that people, and blasting the awful condemnation upon us, if it be said that the last state of the African here was worse than the first. To save the Nation from that shame; to acquit the social conscience; to

* See Life, p. 61.

bless and ennoble the colored man, this Society, inspired by the spirit of a true missionary zeal, and yearning to extend to him the liberty, the civilization, and the Christianity of America, pursues its work. To use the language of Ashmun, "the beneficial consequences of its success gradually unfold to the mind, on a rational investigation of its nature, and may be traced up to the highest pitch of moral magnificence."*

And if any one is not fully persuaded in his own mind as to the claims of this cause, let him ask himself, "*what shall be done with the African in America?*" It is clear that he can never live here, as the Celt and the German, marrying and intermarrying with the Saxon. God has ordered the existence of separate races, and He seems to have written it upon the heart of the American, as He did in the laws of the Jews, that, as to this colored race, "thou shalt not take to thyself a wife of the daughters of Ham." The result of the emancipation here, and a very happy one we think, is, that there are fewer mulattoes; and the race in becoming purer in life are becoming darker in complexion—I might say, in being freed, they are being naturalized. Liberty has tended to separate them more and more distinctly in race, in idiosyncrasy, and in destiny. It commends itself to the social conscience; it is in accordance with the historic analogies of the Castilians and the Moors; of the Brahmins and the Chinese; of the Egyptians and the Jews; and it is suggested to us by the experience of all successful colonization and missionary enterprise, that the African should have his own schools and teachers; his own churches and ministers; his own country, liberty, literature, laws, and religion, as they are peculiar to every civilized and Christian nation upon the globe.

It has not been the policy of our Government to establish colonial dependencies, and the Society does not seek to alter it. But is it not reasonable to hope that the people, who owe such a debt to Africa; who have with other nations so wronged her, would, at least, see that she is protected under the treaties of the Liberian Republic; and, in the name of common justice, in those rights of trade, of self-government, and of peaceful industry which will advance the general weal of her people

* See Life, p. 61.

and contribute to the common good of mankind? Greece planted her colonies for defense and as a measure of self-preservation against the dangers of overgrown populations. Rome filled the world with her colonial settlements that she might have military strongholds, and extend her dominion from India to Britain. England has swollen her treasury with the revenues of her rich colonies and her commerce, which circles the globe. And would it not be worthy this great Republic to guarantee at least a Protectorate to Liberia, with the sole object of perpetuating the blessings of constitutional liberty and the saving benefits of the Christian religion? Could not this Government, to use the language of Professor Crummell, extend "those monetary helps and assistances, and that naval guardianship, which would enable (them) us to commence a greater work of interior civilization, by the means of roads, model farms, and manual-labor schools, with the definite condition that (our) their internal economy and (our) their full natural functions should remain intact and undisturbed?"*

William Pitt said: "We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupation of industry and in the pursuit of a just and legitimate commerce; we may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happier period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre, and joining that influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremes of that immense continent."

Shall not America contribute towards the fulfillment of so glorious a prediction? Shall not our commerce become the ally of our religion and open the way for the more rapid extension of that kingdom which is righteousness and peace?

The indications of Providence are surely a guide to us in this effort. Baker and Livingstone and Stanley have rendered a service in their explorations of that continent which are among the most valuable aids to modern discovery. They reveal the resources of the undeveloped soil and the treasures of a commerce, which, if rightly employed, would more than repay any expenditure made for colonization.

* Address of Rev. A. Crummell, 1870, p. 9.

Besides, the history of the Republic of Liberia presents a striking contrast to the failures in Spain, and even France, in their attempt at a similar form of government. These civilized powers have become so fixed in the associations and forms of monarchical rule, that it seems almost impossible for them to attain any other permanent government. The absolutisms of the past have unfitted them for the experiment which they are seeking to accomplish in a moment. A Republic must grow, and cannot be made. It must grow out of the exigencies and circumstances of a people. It must rest upon the ground-work of History. And it would be contrary to all analogy and to the plainest principles of political economy to expect ever to see such a government as ours in the midst of Europe. The Swiss Commonwealth has *the basis* of free local institutions. She has an ancient ground-work. The superstructure grew from the elements which were formed in the local institutions. The form of the executive is republican because the daily life of the people is republican. France has broken with the past, and upon her falls the work of reconstruction. In Liberia we see transplanted the principles of a free government, among a people who have lived here before they were colonized, and so have been partially educated in such principles. The Hindoo and Chinaman know nothing of representative institutions, and it would be indeed a difficult task to engraft them upon their despotisms. But the African colonist is prepared to receive those laws, under which he and his ancestors have lived and been protected. Surely such a consideration is not to be overlooked, and the advantages of the associations and history of the past must give us encouragement and hope for success, in this noble enterprise.

What a glorious prophecy was that, which the great statesman of Massachusetts conceived to fill the minds of the Plymouth Fathers: "If God prosper us," might have been their language, "we shall here begin a work which shall last for ages; we shall plant here a new society, in the principles of the fullest liberty and the purest religion; we shall fill this region of the great continent which stretches almost from pole to pole with civilization and Christianity; the temples of the true God shall rise where now ascends the smoke of idolatrous

sacrifice; fields and gardens, the flowers of summer and the waving and golden harvest of autumn shall spread over a thousand hills, and stretch along a thousand valleys, never yet since the creation reclaimed to the use of civilized man. We shall whiten the Coast with the canvas of a prosperous commerce; we shall stud the long and winding shore with a hundred cities. That which we sow in weakness shall be raised in strength. From our sincere but houseless worship, there shall spring splendid temples to record God's goodness; from the simplicity of our social union there shall arise wise and politic constitutions of government, full of the liberty which we ourselves bring and breathe; from our zeal for learning, institutions shall spring which shall scatter the light of knowledge throughout the land, and, in time, paying back where they have borrowed, shall contribute their part to the great aggregate of human knowledge; and our descendants, through all generations, shall look back to this spot and to this hour with unabated affection and regard."

Why may we not hope the same for Africa? Changes as great have occurred in the very heart of heathen empires. Indeed all the civilization and Christianity which have marked the progress and crowned the life of the human family, have grown out of elements, as rude and forbidding as any which confront us in distant Africa.

The Christian, especially, should be the friend and patron of this cause. It seeks to speed the fulfillment of the prophecy, that "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." It is the quiet ally and herald of the Gospel. The prime object which it sets before the Christians of America is to redeem a people enslaved by sin and deluded by superstition. Little can be expected from the effort, if it be regarded, merely, as a political scheme, apart from any sense of obligation to God and sympathy for the souls of men. The Bible is the fountain of all true national strength and healing. It sweetens the streams of life and converts Marahs into Elims. And it would be, indeed, deplorable, if in the great effort of colonization, only the arts, sciences, and commerce should be advanced;

and the people still exhibit the mark of heathen debasement and a refined sensuality.

Nothing but Christianity can preserve that Republic from the taint of the surrounding heathenism. What the Church Missionary Society of England did for Sierra Leone, we are bound to do for Liberia. By the same generous nurture, it will grow strong; its schools will multiply; its religion will be like the leaven in the lump; and spread over the surrounding mass of ignorance and superstition, as when the mists melt before the rising sun. We are bound to aid this cause. The examples of our brothers call to us in voices which are too sacred to be disregarded. Our own Messenger, Minor, and the lamented Hoffman have laid down their lives there. And shall we suffer the precious sacrifices which have been made to redeem and Christianize Africa to be as water spilt upon the ground? Shall they not rather prove the seed of a glorious harvest of redeemed immortal souls?

We are bound by the sacred trust which God has given us. The millions on that distant Coast cry to us, "Come over and help us." We appeal to you, to-night, to remember that race, to which, of all others, America owes the most solemn responsibilities.

THE COLOR QUESTION.

A LETTER

WRITTEN FOR THE

SIXTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

Washington, D. C., January 16, 1877,

BY

EDWARD P. HUMPHREY, D.D., LL.D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:

COLONIZATION ROOMS, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,

1877.

THE COLOR QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *January 11, 1877.*

HON. PETER PARKER, *Washington City.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have heretofore expressed to Mr. Coppinger and yourself my regret that I cannot, in compliance with the wishes of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, make an address at the approaching Annual Meeting. I have now the pleasure of your note of December 1, 1876, asking me to prepare a paper for the use of the Committee, showing "the influence of the benevolent operations of the Society on the state of things in this country." Herewith I submit to your consideration a few thoughts on this subject, to be used at your discretion.

It is frequently said that, although the slavery question in this country is settled, the color question has not been touched. Indeed the extirpation of slavery has introduced new and perplexing conditions into the problem. Before the law the colored man is the equal of the white man. His rights of property are acknowledged. The ballot-box is open to him. He is eligible to office, even the highest in every State and in the General Government. He may remove at his own pleasure from any one State to any other, and acquire citizenship wherever he goes upon the terms prescribed to the whites. His right of trial by jury is secured. No discrimination is made against him in the law of marriage and divorce, in the conditions imposed on the relations of the sexes, in the law of wills and testaments, or in the punishments awarded on conviction of crime; he may be whipped, or imprisoned, or put to death in no other way than if he were a white man. These immense changes in his civil relations do not render more simple or manageable the problem of the colored race; they add to its complications. The process by which the slave has been written the citizen has not changed his present social relations, nor is there in this process any promise of such a change hereafter. The controlling fact is that the overwhelming majority, eight out of nine, of our people are white; the ninth is black. The people who bear the color stain have been everywhere and always, in this country, the inferior, and for the most part the servile race.

It may be useful just now to put to the test of common sense some of the more plausible answers to the question, What shall be done

with the freedman? For the first, it has been thought that they might be concentrated upon the Gulf States, all the whites leaving those States and all the blacks going thither from the other parts of the country. But there is not in the history of mankind an example of such a movement of populations; nor, if there were such examples, is there any reason to suppose that this thing could be done here. The Gulf States include some of the choicest cotton-lands on the face of the earth, together with the only sugar-producing region in the country. These States hold, also, the mouths of the river Mississippi, with its widest and deepest channels. Does anybody believe that the whites now in possession will abandon that vast and fertile region to the blacks, surrendering to them, in the bargain, the control of the navigation of the great river? Again, the history of the Indian reservations shows that the whites are not in the habit of acknowledging the rights of an inferior race. A struggle is at this moment going on for the ownership of the Black Hills. They have been ceded to the Indians by solemn treaty. The red man is in possession, and his title is protected by the military power of the United States; but neither the ferocity of the Sioux warriors within the territory, nor the vigilance of the national troops posted on its borders, can keep off the miners and speculators. A people who mean at all hazards to rob the Indians of their reservations are not likely to pull up stakes and abandon to the colored race the fertile shores of the Southern Gulf. They have just now built Deadwood City among the snows and bad lands of the Black Hills. They will hardly move away from Mobile and New Orleans, and from the four or five neighboring States, for the accommodation of the freedmen.

A second solution of the problem has been proposed. It is difficult to state or to examine a proposition than which nothing could be more unreasonable or revolting. I refer to the amalgamation of the white and black races through unrestrained intermarriage. It would be a reproach to the intelligence of the colored race to intimate the existence of any expectation among them to that effect. The probabilities of its occurrence are not suggested by any historical analogies: not by the fusion of the citizens and helots of Sparta, or of the Roman masters and their slaves, or of the free-born Russians and their serfs. In all those instances the superior and inferior races were of the same color and of the same general stock. Not one of them touches the question how to obliterate the color-line which divides forty millions from five millions, the first made up chiefly of Anglo-Saxons, and the last of Africans, the Africans long held in

slavery, and now laboring under the stain of color not only, but the prejudice of caste as well. Nor is there anything in the condition of the mixed breeds in Mexico, or in the amalgamation which is said to be now going forward in the West India Islands, to warrant the thought that universal miscegenation in this country is among the possibilities of the future. This method of solving the problem may be discarded without further argument.

A third solution may be obtained by our agreeing to abide by the present posture of affairs. It might be urged that the whites and the blacks are now living together. The one is the superior and the other is the inferior race. Both parties are now getting along after a fashion. Let the subject rest there. This is a plausible suggestion. For, first, this settlement of the question saves the trouble of study and discussion on the most difficult branch of social science. Next, this is an established element in American society; and whatever is now, and has long been, the settled order of things holds a position from which it is not easily dislodged. Further, the colored people are satisfied with their homes in this country, and the most of them resent any attempt to remove them. Their recent liberation and enfranchisement, procured and guaranteed by constitutional amendments, have strengthened their attachment to what they proudly call their native land. They are the equals of the whites before the law. No other disability disturbs them except their social inferiority; and this they are willing to endure, partly because they have become accustomed to it, and partly because they hope, though the whites think, against hope, for better things. And further still, the whites "accept the situation," because they do not see that it is possible to change it; and because the presence of the blacks, as laborers, is a convenience in the northern portion of the former Slave States, and a supposed necessity in the Gulf States.

Here we come upon the main obstacles in the way of African Colonization. The cause has but a feeble hold on the people of either race. The blacks will not go to Africa, a few only excepted. The whites do not believe that 5,000,000 of people can be removed thither; nor are they willing to give up their old servants as a separate, inferior, and docile class of laborers and menials.

Standing face to face with all these obstacles, have we any further plea to urge in behalf of Colonization? If so, what is the nature and ground of the plea? For answer to these questions, let it be borne in mind that the freedmen are now rising apace in the scale of intelligence, self-respect, sound morality, and the religious sentiment and

ife. Nothing of the kind is more remarkable than their progress in these directions. It has exceeded the hopes of their most sanguine friends. A visit to their schools, to their churches, and to the ecclesiastical meetings of the colored preachers would surprise those even who entertain the largest expectations respecting their enlightenment and elevation.

It is to be expected that the progress of education and religion among them will raise up a class of people who will demand for themselves and their children a better home than will be afforded to them here. When they were in slavery their hearts were set on emancipation. What sacrifices were made by many of them, to secure personal freedom for themselves and their children, will not be forgotten by this generation either of the former masters or servants. They are now free beyond the possibility of re-enslavement. This is the first step. Then, being freemen, they began to seek equality before the law with their white neighbors. They were taught to say: "Of what use is freedom to us, so long as we are deprived of the ordinary rights of freemen? We are refused the self-protection afforded by the ballot-box; the coveted prizes of citizenship, the inspiring rewards of good behavior are denied us; and the law, instead of recognizing our equality, inflicts upon us, and entails on our unborn children the stigma of legalized caste. Let us have the rights as well as the personal liberty of free citizens." This is the second advantage which has been sought and gained for them.

Now for the third. Having gotten their freedom and their civil rights, the wealthy and cultivated people of color will aspire to social equality. Their pride will be stung by the slights that will be put upon them, by the indignities which white people of ruder and coarser manners than they will inflict on their families, and by the polite but more freezing exclusion which the better classes of the whites will strongly enforce. They will say, "Freedom is a great gift, equality before the law is a great gift; but what are these so long as our children are not suffered in social intercourse to cross the color-line—a bar more hateful than the 'dead-line' of the military prison?" Parents might endure the stigma of inferiority for themselves, but not for their children. Could they be convinced that their descendants of a remote generation will rise to a social equality with the whites, even to the extent of intermarriage—which is and ought to be forever impossible—even then, the better classes of them will hardly feel at liberty to leave their own children to be worn out by the sufferings which they must endure in wearing out what they deem an odious

prejudice of caste, all for the sake of future generations. Men prefer the well-being of their immediate children to the comfort of unborn and remote descendants. To the most intelligent and far-seeing parents the question will surely occur, whether there is not somewhere under the sun a country where their children may at once rise to the dignity and just pride of men and women who are socially, as well as by force of law, the equals of the highest. This inquiry, which is sure to assume an urgent form, leads up to the remaining solution of the problem.

That solution is proposed by the American Colonization Society. It is busy and patient in the preparation of a home for these people which shall fulfill all the conditions of a home. It is a fact, every way remarkable, that the skies are brightening in Africa just at the time when the color question becomes more serious than ever. The hopeful signs may be easily pointed out. For the first, Liberia is entering on a new career of prosperity. It is no longer a feeble settlement, struggling for a foothold upon the edge of a continent occupied by barbarous tribes and white savages trading in slaves. It is no longer a colony, with fair prospects of success as a colony merely. It is a free Commonwealth, with a written Constitution, good laws, and an established Government. The authorities are obtaining honorable and peaceable possession of the outlying regions. Their power of self-protection against the hostile native tribes has been maintained by force of arms. The health of the climate is constantly improving. Agriculture, the source of boundless wealth, is steadily gaining ground. Churches and schools and all the allied forces of Christian civilization are in vigorous working order. To all this it must be added that the citizens of the new Republic are all colored people; the white man being forever disfranchised by an express provision of the Constitution. Such is the home which is to-day offered to so many of our colored people as are looking for another country better than America for themselves and their children.

And further still, the world is beginning to find out that Western Africa is only a narrow and low-lying border of a great continent. It required nearly a hundred years after the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth for our fathers to ascertain that the strip of country between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies was not North America, but only a thoroughfare to the heart of the continent in the valley of the Mississippi. That vast central region has drawn to itself emigrants from other countries which may be counted by millions.

Recent discoveries in Africa are not less surprising. From Liberia

on the Western Coast to Abyssinia on the Eastern, the breadth of the continent is four thousand miles—one thousand more than the distance from New York to San Francisco. The surface of Africa is not less diversified than the surface of America. There are low lands and high lands, jungles and sandy plains, mangrove swamps, and mountains the tops of which are covered with snow. There are basins for inland seas and channels for mighty rivers. Lieutenant Cameron informs us by his personal observation that “most of the land from the Tanganyika to the Western Coast is of almost unspeakable richness. There are metals—iron, copper, silver, and gold; coal also exists; vegetable products, palm-oil, nutmegs, cotton, several sorts of pepper and coffee, all growing wild. The Arabs have introduced rice, wheat, onions, and a few fruit-trees, all of which seem to flourish well.” There are other indications of the immense resources of interior Africa. Within a short journey from Liberia a group of kingdoms may be found, some of which have been in existence for more than a thousand years. These contain wide districts of fertile soil, producing cotton, rice, and corn. The air is cool and sweet, and the region is by nature every way inviting. Now the discoveries already made and to be made hereafter in Africa may be expected to invite an immense emigration. The question has been often put us by the colored people, “If Africa is so good a country why do not the white people go there themselves?” This question may receive an unexpected reply. Stranger things have happened in the migrations of the human family than the settlement of large districts of Africa by the white races, and by the return thither of immense numbers of its own now exiled children. These last will be in a condition to choose, not only between this country and Liberia, but between this country and the most attractive regions of New Africa. And further, it is reasonable to anticipate that the impulse of emigration, having once taken possession of these people, will lead to their voluntary colonization in regions within easy reach of this country. Jamaica, Porto Rico, Hayti, San Domingo, Cuba, or the South American States may invite the intelligent and enterprising colored people of a new generation to found free commonwealths within their domains. A race resolved on seeking a new home will find or make one for themselves.

Migration makes up one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the world. We find near at hand an illustration of the power of this movement. It is said that within a quarter of a century (1848–1873) over five millions of foreigners have been landed in New York alone, in numbers equal to the entire colored popula-

tion of the United States. Some of the forces that instigate and secure migration are oppression, poverty, civil inequality, bad land laws and labor systems, social disabilities, dissatisfaction with the old and the attractiveness of new homes. The motives now known or unknown which will stimulate the voluntary removal of the colored race to other lands may, within our second century, go very far towards solving the problem. And it may turn out that the greatest work of our Society is the suggestion of colonization in foreign lands, together with a demonstration in Liberia of its feasibility, as a cure for the evils which now afflict the white no less than the black races.

Such is the solution which our Society applies to the problem. We are not entitled to say that it will be actually solved in this way. The thoughts of the Almighty are higher than our thoughts and His ways are higher than our ways, higher than the heavens are above the earth. He is accustomed to accomplish His gracious purposes by methods which no human sagacity can divine. But we are entitled to say that our plan is the best plan yet suggested for the future elevation of the colored race. We are not at liberty to discard this scheme until a better is proposed; and if there be a better, the vigorous prosecution of this may lead us on to that.

Our Society is the only body of men in existence organized solely for the benefit of the colored peoples here and in Africa. The American Anti-Slavery Society labored for the emancipation of the slaves, but it contemplated nothing beyond that. On the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution the Society adjourned without day. It did not even attempt to perpetuate and strengthen itself to grapple with the question, What shall be done with the freedman? That question was the unavoidable sequence of their emancipation and enfranchisement. *It is a question which everybody foresaw would arise and must be met; a question which may convulse the nation, and may in its settlement change the face of the world.* Instead of meeting this great crisis in the affairs of two races and two continents, all the anti-slavery Societies went suddenly into dissolution; but the crisis itself with all the problems which it involves survives these extinct associations. The color question must be met; the sooner the better. If we allow things to take their course, the two races remaining as they now are, together and not together, the history of other countries may, perchance, repeat itself here in the gradual decay and final extinction of the weaker under the shadow of the stronger. We would shut our eyes upon any solution of the problem, which is unworthy of a humane and Christian people. As to a war of races, perish the thought!

Now, the Colonization Society, standing alone in this work, is bound to hold on its way for the sake of the country agitated with troubles growing out of the color question, for the sake of the freedmen for whom the Society has faithfully labored through the period of sixty years, for the sake of Christian missions in Africa, and for the sake of humanity and the welfare of the human race, which are all the time in peril. Hitherto God has helped the Society. He will not leave it in doubt concerning what other and greater works He will require at its hands.

For the rest, let the friends of this Society continue to study the elevation and happiness of the colored people. Let us foster their churches and schools of common and higher learning. Let us help them in their efforts towards self-respect, refinement, and true religion. Let us show that we are too faithful in our friendship to advise them to struggle for social equality here, and faithful enough to provide for them a new home in Africa, where they may found free Christian commonwealths for themselves and give the Gospel to a great continent.

Very truly, yours,

EWD. P. HUMPHREY.

The Christian Civilization of Africa.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 16, 1877,

BY

HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1877.

ADDRESS.

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In the year 1853, Mr. Everett, addressing the Anniversary Meeting of that year, said:

“Sir: I believe that Africa will be civilized, and civilized by the descendants of those torn from the land. I believe it, because I will not think that this great fertile continent is to be forever left waste; I believe it, because I see no other agency competent to the task; I believe it, because I see in this agency a wonderful adaptation.”

It was no new thought that Mr. Everett uttered on this occasion; but, falling from his lips, these words had the weight due to his character as an acute observer, a profound thinker, an experienced statesman, and an accomplished orator.

It was a long, dim vista through which, with prophetic eye, he gazed when he uttered them. Since then, day to day, the prospect has been brightening, until, now, even the most incredulous may see the end that he foretold.

The standpoint which Mr. Everett occupied, however, commanded a far wider view than that which the earlier colonizationists enjoyed thirty-seven years before, in 1816. A thick darkness then rested upon their way, which it needed the eye of a strong and abiding faith to penetrate. Such was the faith of Finley, and Bushrod Washington, and Harper, and Randolph, and Clay, and Key, and Mercer, and many another, whose names have now become historical in connection with our cause.

The address of Mr. Everett in 1853 was made at the time when a new interest seemed about to be taken in Africa and things African. At that date, almost all that was known about the continent beyond its mere edges had been learned from Bruce and Park, Denham and Clapperton, Caillé, the Landers, and Barth. Bruce had sought the fountains of the Nile, which he fancied he had found in Abyssinia. Park had crossed the mountains from the head waters of the Gambia to the Niger; had visited Timbuctoo, and was murdered at Boussa

when descending the river in the hope of unveiling the mystery of its mouth. Caillé had made a detour from the Rio Nunez, struck and crossed the Niger high up, and reached the ocean again in Morocco. Denham and Clapperton had made their way from Tripoli across the desert, discovered the lake Tchad, and aroused attention by the publication of their travels in 1824. Lander, going north from Badagry, on the way to the lake, was taken prisoner when he reached the Niger, and, being carried by his captors down the river to the sea, became in this way the discoverer of its mouth, or many mouths, in the delta between the great Bights of Benin and Biafra. Barth, with Richardson and Overweg, crossed the desert to Timbuctoo, and traveling widely through the Niger countries, published, in 1853, by far the most elaborate and satisfactory, if not the most entertaining account that had yet appeared of Central Africa.

Since 1853 the exploration of the continent has been far more active than it ever was before, and the public interest in Africa seems to have grown in proportion.

In the last century there were but four attempts at exploration, excluding Park, whose second and most fruitful journey was in 1805. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were but three, including even Caillé, whose travels did not end until 1828. In the second quarter we have but five; while for the third quarter and down to this time there have been more than twenty, counting those only whose names are well known as contributors to our knowledge of the interior of Africa.

With Mr. Everett's address, or, at all events, cotemporaneous with it, may be said to have revived the spirit of African exploration.

During the period here referred to Liberia had been founded, and was growing slowly but surely, increasing, as she is still increasing, in strength, so as to become fitted some day for the destiny foretold for her—to vindicate her competency for the agency that Mr. Everett assigned to her—to prove, to use his words, "her wonderful adaptation to the work" of civilizing Africa; to do for Africa what the settlements of Plymouth and Jamestown, weaker far in their early history than Liberia has ever been, have in the end done for America; with this mighty difference, that here in America the white race has subjugated, trampled upon, and will, sooner or later, extirpate the red race that it found here, leaving it a tradition only; while the black race of Africa, "civilized," to use again the words of Mr. Everett, "by the descendants of those torn from the land," will have only

reason to rejoice in the numbers that leave America to find in Africa their home.

So great a result as the orator foretold is never brought about upon the instant. Long preparation precedes it always. Circumstances often apparently antagonistic are in the end found to have been, in some unexpected way, combined to produce it. In this case, a population, estimated by late writers at 199,000,000, of whom, says the same authority, scarcely one per cent. can be set down as civilized men, and little more than ten per cent. as semi-civilized even, was to be wrought upon. The mere statement of the proportion is appalling. Measure the chances of success by all past experience. Look at the fields where the labors of white missionaries have been the most encouraging. Count the number of their converts and subtract it from 199,000,000. Ask the zealous and devoted men and women who, for forty years and more, have labored on the Gaboon, on the Cavalla, and elsewhere on the continent, to enumerate their communicants, and then let us judge for ourselves what impression they are at all likely to make upon this enormous mass. And yet we all agree that this work, mighty as it is, has to be done. As philanthropists merely we would wish to believe that it will be done. As Christians, blessed with prophecy and revelation, it is our duty to believe it will be done. Then comes the constantly-recurring question, but how is it to be done? And the answer is to be made in the language which has been used as the text of this address: It is to be done by "the descendants of those torn from the land;" not by one or two, or one or two hundred white missionaries scattered here and there over Africa, like the "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*" of Virgil, but by a missionary nation from across the sea, absorbing into itself, as the ages, if you please, roll on, those whom it came to teach. Towards such a result circumstances apparently antagonistic seem to have been tending.

Who could have imagined that, when Henry de Vasco of Portugal began to creep with his timid expeditions along the Western Coast of Africa, they would ever bear upon subjects like the present? Who could have foreseen that the slave trade, which then originated in the greed of the Portuguese adventurers, was to have an influence upon the civilization of Africa and the spread of the Gospel? Who could have predicted that even the horrors of the middle passage would tend in the same direction by arousing the feeling that put an end to the inhuman traffic, only, however, after there had been placed in America hundreds of thousands of Africans, whose descendants, by long

contact and association with the white race, would become so imbued with its characteristics as to be able to do for Africa what that race had done for them; a result which the daily intercourse of generations on generations alone seems competent to effect.

We see all this now; and looking back from the standpoint of to-day, we can follow the sequence of events and see the combination of circumstances as distinctly as we can trace the course of a river and the tributaries from many quarters that go to swell its volume upon the map.

Nor, in connection with the agency which Liberia is to have in the civilization of Africa, must we overlook a peculiarity of the people upon whom it is to operate and which makes it of so much importance. It is not to be forgotten that while Europe has developed, from within, the highest culture of which man here below seems to be susceptible; while Chinese civilization has existed from remote times; while India under its native princes, long ages before the day of Clive and Hastings, had its science and its art, and exhibited in its architecture such beauty as is illustrated in the Taj Mahal at Agra; while Mexico and Peru had made the advances that Cortes and Pizarro found there; while the same may be said of Japan that has been said of China—yet the native African is, to-day, what the paintings on Egyptian tombs represent him to have been when he figured in the processions that swelled the triumphs of the kings in whose reigns were built the pyramids, the temples, and the palaces whose ruins crowd the borders of the Nile.

Certainly, then, it is only a fair inference that, with but an inferior faculty of self-development, the civilization of Africa must come from without, and not from within, her borders. And where is it to come from, save from America—from the nation of missionaries here prepared for the purpose, “the descendants of those torn from the land?” This is the agency by which the work is to be done. And never were truer words spoken than when Mr. Everett said, “I see no other agency competent to the task; I see in this agency a wonderful adaptation.”

Looking forward to the remoteness of the end, it is as far off to-day as it was when Mr. Everett spoke. The twenty-four years that have elapsed may be counted as an hour only of the time that must intervene before all men shall admit that the great result has been accomplished. But the happening of it is not the less sure; and all that has yet taken place in this connection but strengthens, or ought to strengthen, our faith in it.

It is very true that when, in 1816, the American Colonization Society was formed, the vast majority of the descendants of these "torn from the land" in the United States were slaves, and that now there is not a single slave in all our wide domain; and there may be those who will argue that with all avocations, in all the walks of life, open to all; with the highest political distinction within the reach of all; there is far less motive for emigration than when color was a disqualifying badge in a thousand offensive ways. And the same persons may point to the high positions honorably filled by men who, twenty years ago, were either slaves or the descendants, more or less remotely, of slaves, as creating an inducement to remain in America more potent than any that formerly existed.

The argument on these grounds is a weak one. The closer the assimilation which contact and association for generations on generations have brought about between the two races in those characteristics which fit men to influence men in the interests of civilization, the more capable is the Africo-American of taking upon himself the work that is yet to be performed in Africa—the wider the field opened to his ambition in a land where, free from the overshadowing competition of a different race, he may do the work which he and his are alone competent to perform. That he will perform it, all things seem to indicate in the preparations that have so long been going forward. Among these not the least important and significant are the explorations that have been extending our knowledge of the continent and its people. They have shown that in no part of the globe are the treasures of the mine, the soil, and the forest more abundant; while nowhere else has nature been more prodigal of beauty; and the journeyings of Speke, and Burton, and Grant, and Livingstone, and Schweinfurth, and Cameron, and Stanley have created an interest in Africa before unfelt: and, to-day, the return of Stanley is anticipated by thousands as letting on still more the light of day, so to speak, upon what has been the dark interior of this quarter of the globe.

It is only within a few months that one of the most intelligent and enlightened monarchs of Europe convened in Brussels a Congress of geographers, men of science, distinguished African travelers, and others, with a view to the concentration of effort in this direction, so that exploration might be carried on, not sporadically, but upon a system having especial regard to this great matter of civilization. It was with profound regret that the speaker found himself unable to accept the invitation that his office of President of the American Colonization

Society, no doubt, procured for him, to be present at the meeting at Brussels on the 11th September last, as the guest of King Leopold, if for no other reason than because he lost the opportunity of expressing, and elaborating, and justifying, as he has endeavored to do this evening, the views that have been made the subject of this address.

Should it be said that the scant numbers that of late years the Society has sent to Liberia is not encouraging in this connection; the answer is, that there has been no want of applicants to go there. The Society could have sent six thousand who are on its list, had it possessed the means to send them. And if it is then said, that this very want of means is indicative of an indifference on the part of the public which is inconsistent with that increase of interest in Africa which has now been dwelt upon, it may be answered that African colonization must, as a matter of course, be independent, as regards its great ultimate results, of the means to be furnished by a philanthropic association, no matter how ample its endowment. African colonization differs in nowise from any other colonization—eastern from China to America, or western from Europe to our shores. It depends, as do all others, upon the attractions of the new home, the repulsions of the old one, or upon both combined; and when it does take place it must, like that which now takes place from Europe to America, be voluntary and self-paying, crossing the ocean over the bridge that commerce makes for it. The function of the American Colonization Society has been to build up in Africa a nation possessing such attractions, capable of self support, of self-government, civilized and Christian, recognized as a member of the great family of nations through honorable treaties, and having the sympathy of the whole civilized world, as well on account of its origin as for its purpose and its destiny. This the Society believes that it has accomplished; until now, as the fruit of 160 voyages, upon which no vessel has been injured by wind or wave, not one lost by shipwreck, it has received in Liberia 20,820 of the descendants of those torn from the land; an English-speaking people, whose Government is modeled after our own, and whose success has vindicated beyond all question the ability of the Afro-American to maintain in Africa an honorable nationality, capable of the amplest development in all the best qualities of civilization.

That this will have the attraction that will in the end make Liberia the mother of a great missionary nation, all things seem to promise; and the end can no more be stayed by the condition of the Society's treasury, this year or the next, than can the succession of

the years themselves be affected by the sunlights or the shadows of their seasons as they roll.

There is a time for all things; a fullness of time, when all things become fit for the event that is to take place. It may be hastened or retarded, but its coming cannot be prevented. All history has shown this, and illustrations from history might be multiplied indefinitely; and were gold to be found now, as explorations already made in Liberia indicate that before long it will be, within as easy reach of Monrovia as the mines of California were within reach of the western States of the Union, or as those of Australia were within reach of the inhabitants of Melbourne, there would be no need of resorting to the treasury of the Society to meet the expenses of emigration.

Nor is Liberia to depend upon the *sacra fames auri* alone for its growth and prosperity. There are causes at work of a very different description, and which will continue to operate until the intercourse between Africa and America shall become as active as that between Europe and America, affording facilities for an emigration eastward as great as any that ever came westward to our shores.

Ingenuity has gone even beyond the demands of an increasing and ever-exacting civilization. The looms and the forges and the workshops of Europe and America produce more than the consumers of Europe and America and the other known markets of the world can pay for. All markets are glutted with their products. New markets must be found, or the whirl of the spindle, the blast of the furnace, and the ring of the anvil must cease, and those dependent upon them must suffer. When starvation marches close behind the competition that produces cheapness, starvation will catch up as soon as cheapness ceases to tempt consumption. In a word, to leave the figurative for the fact, new markets are rapidly becoming a necessity. England feels this, and with the wise forecast of her statesmanship has for years been laboring to provide for it. Comparatively speaking, the only virgin market of the world, to-day, is Africa. America, too, has been sensible of it; and the emigrants of the Society are taken to Liberia now by the merchant-traders from New York; and the readiest means of communicating with Monrovia or Cape Palmas is by way of England by two lines of steamers which sail from Liverpool continuing their voyages along the Coast as far east as the Bight of Benin.

When the territory, now Liberia, was purchased from the native kings by Commodore Stockton and Dr. Eli Ayres in 1821, nothing

of all this was anticipated. There had been, as we have seen, no exploration of Africa, no spirit of exploration, no King of Belgium to concentrate and systematize such a spirit. The most profitable article of African produce was man. The most active trader along the Coast of Liberia was the slave ship. The mills of England had ample markets to which to send their manufactures. The mills of America had scarcely an existence. A steam-engine had not long ceased to be a curiosity. But look around to-day. How vast, how wondrous, how unexampled the change. Its details it were idle to particularize. Our subject is Africa; and it is in connection with Africa only that these things are referred to. Whatever their influence in other directions, their tendency unquestionably is to bring about the day when America shall in some sort pay the debt she owes to Africa in the fitness which "the descendants of those torn from the land" have acquired during their long and weary servitude—to spread over this vast continent as a thrice-blessed garment, civilization and the gospel, fulfilling wisely and beneficently all the duties of the agency which, to recur again to the words of Mr. Everett, is alone "competent to the task."

Not single heralds now go forth
 'To earn Thy smiles' reward—
 'To preach Thy law, proclaim Thy word,
 Redeemer, Saviour, Lord;
 But, bursting through the thrall of years
 'Their fathers' home to gain,
 A nation, now, exultant bears
 Thy truth beyond the main.

PATRIOTISM, PHILANTHROPY, AND RELIGION.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 16, 1877,

BY

ALEXANDER T. MCGILL, D.D. LL.D.

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ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT: Truthfulness must be considered the only rock on which any moral reform or social combination will ever abide. After long observation I affirm that the American Colonization Society is the most truthful institution of uninspired wisdom I have known to be set up amid the passions of men and changes of time. No rock in ocean ever stood the conflict of surges at the base and tumult of storms at the summit with more simple and unchanging aspect of stability and usefulness. Truth is not simple as error is. She disdains the poverty of one idea, prefers to be complex, proceeds with a balance, and reposes with confidence only when she is many-sided in her completeness. The wreath which was laid on the cradle of this organization—*patriotism, philanthropy, and religion*—is the same as it was threescore years ago, without the fading of one leaf or flower, whilst every other society with but one of these objects in its aim has withered away. Truth is also positive in her moderation. Error is negative, and therefore easier as well as simpler, coinciding with the passions of men, and achieving success with a quicker speed than is possible for the solid and temperate and well-poised movement of the true.

Societies younger than ours, with the one idea of abolishing slavery at any cost and without delay, have triumphed already and disappeared, because their work is done. But ours may now be seen coming slowly up, with scant resources, to a ravaged field and forlorn occupation, and yet the best opportunity that ever dawned on her benevolence. No changes have changed her in the least. Slavery predominant and slavery destroyed are just the same thing to her interference—the problem of the black man remaining unsolved to her eye. We have always proposed to work with him as a freeman, and therefore gladly accept his emancipation everywhere. But what is freedom to him in the social degradation which yet remains? What is liberty worth when his own is used by others more than by himself, and that to make him a slave to his own passions? What is the bill of rights in his hand when it is reddened in a war of races or trampled with con-

tempt, which no constitutional amendment can amend in the constitution of our nature? What is religion itself to him, the freedom with which the Son makes free, when its altars are abandoned for the polls, and its pulpits forsaken by the best culture it has, for the stump, the tribunal, and the brawl of pot-house politicians?

It must be confessed that complicated misery and fearful danger attend the glory of his manumission still, and it calls for more than one idea to heal the complication. No remedy here can advance him another step; no mechanism of party can put on him the true habiliment of manhood. We must send him home, when he is willing to go, and see that his home is attractive and safe, as it was not when he was torn from it and sold from bondage to bondage. We must consign him as a citizen from one Republic to another, with gain to him in the transfer of true instead of nominal "liberty, equality, and fraternity." We must do by him for his home what the navies of christendom could not do for the coast of Africa—stop the traffic in human flesh; and we must do by him what all the missionaries of christendom besides could not do for a quarter of the globe—span it with an equatorial church, redeem it from the curse of Ham, and overspread the mysteries of darkness and death on its bosom with the mysteries of "a kingdom which cannot be moved."

Such is the composite object we offered sixty years ago as a true catholicon for the African race. And who can doubt it now, or allege that it was faulty or mistaken in any one of its ingredients? We seem to be hindered at present from gathering certificates on every hand. Party faction, more than sectional faction ever did, prevents us from asking Congress, and State after State, and church after church to witness the excellence of our object and the wisdom of our way. But it is enough to recall the memorials of attestation, which all men must honor, as a verdict on the past and a trust for the future. It would be well to begin another decade with a roll-call of the original officers and members, and ask what one of those illustrious men would now, if he were living, and led by the logic of events which have intervened, regret the institution, as too slow and cumbrous and neutral, or in any one particular as not suited and true to the situation? Would Bushrod Washington, or Henry Clay, or Daniel Webster, or John Randolph, or William Thornton, or Francis S. Key, or John Mason, or Charles Marsh; would Robert Finley, or Samuel J. Mills, or William Meade; would any one of the fifty original members who sat as peers in the first council of colonization, and represented there

the patriarchal wisdom of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Marshall, say that the amazing overturn which we have witnessed in this generation has altered one syllable of the original platform on which our object was placed?

1st. "To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

2d. "To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

3d. "To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

4th. "To arrest and destroy the slave trade.

5th. "To afford slave owners who wish or are willing to liberate their slaves an asylum for their reception."

Only the last plank of this original has been loosened in the least by the great convulsion through which we have passed. Slave owners no longer exist among us with wishes or willingness to be consulted and regarded. But surely the nation itself, whose fiat has broken every yoke and made the slaves its own constituency, should be willing to liberate them from every ban that is left, from the very name of "freedman," and help them to an asylum which is absolutely safe, and more and more complete in all its appointments and attractions. What means "intimidation" in the charges and counter-charges of this convulsive present? No such word has ever yet been heard at the polls of Liberia. No military muster is made, or needed, or called for there to guard the franchise of a colored citizen. There, indeed, he is his own master, free to canvass, free to change, free to vote, without one claim of antecedents on the one hand, or fear of guns upon the other. Is it not now as much as ever, and more than ever, "an asylum" for the black man?

If he prefers, after all, to make this country his home, with a view to advance the improvement of his lot and elevate his race, we are not done with him in the true objects of our colonization. We shall stand at his side to help him and rejoice. For his advancement anywhere is not only a chief aim of the Society, but a great auxiliary, both at home and abroad. The more elevated he becomes here the more fitted he is for Africa—to go himself or send others. We have never failed to choose the best for this emigration. If he be not cultured enough to know how to work, and how to vote, and how to bear office, how to teach and how to christianize in teaching, we do not

elect him for the citizenship of Liberia. We would rather detain him, with all the damage his unfitness may do to ourselves, than send him over to be a burden or a pest in that community which we seek to model for the redemption of a continent. We do not forget the war of anti-slavery upon us on account of this kind of selection, and its vehement demand that colonization should wait for the best, until these could be used at home, in the work of immediate and universal abolition. And now we look to the magnanimity of the triumphant to spare the intelligence, and industry, and virtue, of which they have made so much, in order to propagate for us and Africa this glory of the race.

Twenty-six years ago, Mr. President, at the great anniversary over which Henry Clay presided, I believe, for the last time, having the President of the United States on his right, and a vast audience, composed largely of statesmen, ambassadors, and philanthropists of the highest rank before him; after almost every phase of the subject had been swept by his magnificent eloquence at the opening, and after the Rev. Dr. Fuller, then of Baltimore, had followed him with ingenious prophecy and tender pathos which continued that brilliant assembly in a trance, you were felicitous enough, under all the disadvantage of being third orator in such a succession, to hold the unflagging interest of that house with the great thought that the work of the Society is more at present with Africa than with America; to make the Colony attractive and draw to itself, without the persuasion of agencies here, the crowd that must be always eager to make their own condition better. That thought is my gateway to another line of truth, the truth of facts, as well as principles, in your beneficent and steady working to this hour.

You began with a careful and costly experiment on the Coast to find the most healthy location for your Colony. The life of Mills himself was paid in that experiment. But you succeeded. Even Plymouth and Jamestown, for health to the Englishman, were not to be compared with Monrovia for health to the American negro. You began with a tutelage to govern the colonist, because the power of self-government in him had not then been developed or tried; and he became at once heroic in the hands of your Agency; refused to follow disheartened "tutors and governors" back to America; took the guardianship of himself into his own hands; declined the offer of British marines to protect him at the price of only a few feet to be ceded for their flagstaff, and with a band of but thirty-five fighting men repulsed

the natives, led by their kings, with eight hundred in one battle, and double this number in another. Such heroes were Lott Cary and Elijah Johnson. They would buy territory for themselves and make their own Trustees of the chivalric Stockton and Ayres, who purchased Cape Mesurado for such colonists at the hazard of their own lives. We do not wonder that Ashmun and Gurley hastened in their wisdom to divide with such colonists the government of their own Commonwealth, and that the Society itself hastened to fulfil its promise from the first, to resign its own authority as soon as the freedman could stand for himself.

Nations are slow of growth, especially in the cradle of their youth. A centenary is the familiar unit with which we measure the growth of our own in its boast of unparalleled progress. But one quarter of a century—scarcely more than enough of years to bring the infancy of an individual man to the majority of manhood—was enough to bring your first handful of emigrants, who landed as guests merely at Sierra Leone and Campelar, without a foot of territory or shore to be called their own, to the dignity and independence of a Republic complete in every department of a nation's power, and acknowledged by the greatest nations of the world. And what if the subsequent advance in material greatness may not correspond with such a beginning, and the reproach of disappointed hope may have come to hinder the expansion of colonization zeal among ourselves? Does not life in all its analogies demand a quiet solidification to succeed a rapid growth? It would be impossible for a narrow Coast of six hundred miles by fifty, with a vast interior of teeming and savage people pressing on its civilization with a proportion of twenty-five to one, at the process of assimilation, to go fast without being overwhelmed. It is the slowness of safety; it is the compactness of unity; it is the balancing of maturity; in all respects the opposite of failure and decline, which must explain the present appearance of results in Liberia. Your thought is right and true, and your promise fulfilled, that Africa is overtaking America in the power of attracting immigration. Its agriculture is improving, its commerce increasing; its education already commands the respect of Universities in Europe, and its documents of State have become the admiration of Governments over the civilized world. The romance of travel is all gathered now to the old continent which it fringes and guards and aims to redeem. The engineer is at the heels of the adventurer in this age, and he is always followed soon by trains of immigration.

The attraction to Africa of her own children will be a stream which is not to be reversed. Our great asyllum in this land for all nations already suffers some reversal. The skill of industries, and even the toil of common labor, have almost crowded the voyage back to the old world of late, because of the redundancy and the mixture of races to be met in our workshops and fields. The discouragement of capital is much; oppressive legislation is more; but most of all is the jostle of nationalities—Caucasian, Ethiopian, and Mongolian—in their free fight for employment and a living, the cause of this backward turning from America. But Africa forbids by her climate all competition with her sons. There may be on the heights of her grand interior safe retreats from the fever of her Coast to attract in coming time enough of other kindreds to stimulate the development of her own myriads and make a civilization equal to the best; but the din of busy occupation, the hum of toiling millions, the rewards of tillage on her exuberant soil must be chiefly, by God's own appointment, Ethiopian.

His blessing has attended thus far the work of your hands. This might indeed be counted on, when we know it is right and true by its principles and aims; and if our depression had been a thousand times deeper than it ever was, the integrity of motive and operation would have assured us that God is with us. But see the signals of His presence and direction from the beginning. It was no sudden or accidental thought of Dr. Finley or any other agent in the first convocation. It was older than the Revolution of American Colonies in its meditation and projection, and when the time had come "all things worked together for good." Patriotism in the legislative councils of Virginia; piety in the conference of clergymen at Princeton, N. J., and missionary ardor among the students of theology at Andover, flowed together simultaneously to begin this organization. God has ennobled it in the succession of its Presidents. Washington, Carroll, Madison, and Clay have been the line of your predecessors. He has guided the selection of agents and officers of every kind without one mistake in the appointments of human wisdom. He has prospered the voyage at all times, without one shipwreck with loss of life in sixty years. Truly we may thank Him and take courage. "What hath God wrought?" We may well rely on His abiding benediction when we feel sure that His own ark is in it, as it was in the House of Obed-edom.

The white man sent with the gospel to Africa perishes quickly and

constantly, as if it were the "breach upon Uzzah" for him to attempt any more the devout but deadly adventure. And yet the living minister must go there with the great commission upon him. It is the Divine appointment. Bibles and tracts and schools are treasures of unspeakable value; but we must keep them "in earthen vessels"—men of like passions with others. "The foolishness of preaching," more than eloquence of any other sort, must be made to save men by means of sympathy between man and man. It is the colored preacher that must go, and go as a colonist, identified with the emigrating band in seeking a home, or brought up in the colony itself and educated there.

Half way back in the lapse of your anniversary time, and more than half way back to the first planting of the colony, Mr. Clay said from that chair, "What Christian is there who does not feel a deep interest in sending forth missionaries to convert the dark heathen and bring them within the pale of Christianity? But what missionaries can be so potent as those it is our purpose to transport to the shores of Africa? Africans themselves by birth, or sharing at least African blood, will not all their feelings, all their best affections induce them to seek the good of their countrymen? At this moment there are between four and five thousand colonists who have been sent to Africa under the care of this Society; there are now twenty-five places of public worship dedicated to the service of Almighty God and to the glory of the Saviour of men; and I will venture to say that they will accomplish as missionaries of the Christian religion more to disseminate its blessings than all the rest of the missionaries throughout the globe."

About the time our great patriotic statesman was talking thus, like an eloquent evangelist, Lieutenant Forbes, of the British Navy, was publishing his book on Dahomey, in which it was virtually declared that Liberia was a cheat, and that our Society was engaged in transferring to the shores of Africa American slavery under another name. The prompt denial of this, and triumphant appeal to the Constitution of the Society and the facts of history, could not hinder the American Anti-Slavery Society from siding with Forbes and maligning Clay, and insisting that our officers had evaded the issue in their emphatic refutation. Where, now, is the truth, after all that obloquy, and the victories of our assailants, and the overthrow of slavery, and the advent of freedmen to search for themselves the records of Congress, and twelve States at least, and ecclesiastical assemblies innumerable, attesting the singleness of aim with which the Society has always sought to secure the liberty and culture and salvation of the negro? Our

existence itself at the Sixtieth Anniversary may answer. Persistency is triumph wherever truth is marshaled. The pointing of your finger is equal to the marching of a host, when all things are ready. Vindicated, established, and successful, beyond all precedent, among the voluntary societies of the world, I would say to you "stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." But you have already listened to these words long enough, with the raging of a red sea before you, and the pillar of the cloud behind you. Your great opportunity, God's own opportunity for movement, has come, and louder than a thousand billows the voice of His Prophet is heard, saying, "go forward." What if the patriotism and the philanthropy both should yet be challenged and impugned whilst the public mind is bewildered with the problem of freedmen at our doors by the million? Those objects were feet in your progress. Take now the wings which have infolded them all along, and spread these to heaven henceforth, and let all men see the ultimate and main identity of your mission: "Another angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people."

Surely nothing is lost to humanity or patriotism or any other object of your manifold original by soaring in this way. It is infinitely better to be narrowed upwards than downwards, to have the expanse of a firmament that touches everything with light and life to be your margin than the vale of cold and dark infidelity, where so many other societies have descended to die. Let it be seen that the best economy of Christian Missions attaches itself to the work of Colonization, as Hopkins, and Stiles, and Mills, and Burgess, and Ashmun, and Alexander have taught us to believe, and America and Africa both are yours, and both shall pass away from the orbit of earth before the crown of your immortality shall fade.

THE ELEVATION OF A RACE AND
THE REDEMPTION OF A CONTINENT.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 15, 1878,

BY

WILLIAM H. ALLEN, LL. D.,

President of Girard College.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON CITY :
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1878.

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

When Bushrod Washington was elected President of the American Colonization Society, sixty-one years ago, not one of the eminent men who had organized that Society imagined that the colony they were about to plant on the coast of Africa would be an independent nation before the close of the next thirty years. And when, thirty years ago, Joseph Roberts delivered his inaugural address as first president of the infant republic, who would have dared to predict that before twenty years should pass away there would not be a slave in the United States, and that before the year 1878 there would be schools and colleges and universities in successful operation for the instruction of colored youth? The bold prophet would have been sent to prison as “a person dangerous to the peace of society,” had he been caught in the South, and in the North he would have been regarded as a crazy enthusiast. The march of history is accelerated in these later years.

The succession of historical events, which, as Christians, we name the order of Providence, is not unfrequently an evolution of good from evil. God causes the wrath of man to praise Him. Prosperity has sprung from adversity, right from wrong, freedom from slavery. The Hebrew lad, sold into bondage by his brethren, becomes their preserver and benefactor. Saul of Tarsus goes forth breathing out threatenings and slaughter, and returns to preach the faith he had tried to destroy. Almost every step in the progress of civilization has been through tears and blood. The best we have is “the good of suffering born.” The death of Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light. The cross precedes the crown.

Let us suppose that a historical problem is to be solved. A continent is to be redeemed from barbarism to civilization, from idolatry to

Christianity. Suppose that the inhabitants of that continent are incapable of self-elevation, and therefore science, art, social culture and religion are to be imported from abroad. Suppose further that the climate is insalubrious to foreigners, and therefore science, art, social culture and Christianity will not be imported by them. Suppose, finally, that the people are too indolent to seek such benefits in other countries, and too ignorant to appreciate them if they did. Such was, and to a great extent is, the actual condition of a large part of Africa. How shall her millions be instructed, elevated, civilized, Christianized?

Look at the long catalogue of evils and sufferings of which good has been born, and more good is yet to be born,—wars of the native tribes to capture human merchandise; the barracoon, the slave-ship, the horrors of the middle passage; the auction block, the rending asunder of families, the consignment to hopeless and hereditary bondage; fierce and protracted political controversy; a bloody and destructive war. Were there no compensation for these tremendous evils we might doubt whether there is a God in history. Let us see what good has come, or is promised, from two centuries of suffering and wrong. By contact with civilization a barbarous but imitative race became in a degree civilized. The bondmen learned of their masters many useful arts, and how the comforts of life are obtained by labor. The descendants of idolators accepted the truths of the Bible with childlike faith, and embraced a religion, not of the head but of the heart, a form of Christianity, sentimental and emotional it may be, but suited to their imperfect mental development. Then amidst the throes of a sanguinary war came emancipation, citizenship, civil rights, equality before the law, education, and for the industrious and frugal the gradual accumulation of property. And now, last of all, thousands are looking earnestly toward the land of their fathers, and preparing to realize the cherished hope and prophecy of this Society,—a self-supporting emigration to Africa. The hardy and energetic will go to better their own condition, or at least the condition of their children; the educated and philanthropic, to better the condition of the native Africans by opening schools for their children and preaching the gospel to those who sit in the darkness of ignorance and idolatry. The elevation of a race and the redemption of a continent are the two grand objects which the American Colonization Society has kept steadily in view, and which

the present spirit of emigration, if judiciously directed, promises to realize.

The thought of redeeming Africa by the instrumentality of her own children brooded in the minds of Christian philanthropists many years before it took shape in this Society. Through all the years of slavery in this country the emancipation of individual bondmen was going slowly on. A few of the slaves purchased their freedom by the earnings of extra labor; others were liberated through the gratitude or conscience of humane masters; others by State laws. Thus arose two classes of colored people, free negroes and slaves. The social status of the two classes was very nearly equal. But in the South the free negroes were a continual menace to slavery, and the South did not want them. In the North they competed with white labor, and the North did not want them. The masses at the North had much sympathy for colored people at a distance, and ill-concealed aversion to them near at hand. But both in the North and South were found true-hearted Christian men who sincerely desired to benefit the colored people, both bond and free. These were the noble men, all of whom have gone up to God, who organized the American Colonization Society in 1817; planted the little colony on the African coast a few years later, and nursed it through its feeble infancy and dependent childhood for thirty years, and has watched its growing youth and contributed to its welfare for thirty years more.

A nation is not born at once, nor does a child-state grow to manhood in a day. Time is an element in every historic movement. The Supreme Being is patient; "His mills grind slow, but they grind exceeding fine." The infant commonwealth must draw sustenance from the mother land. When its bones enlarge and harden, and its sinews become strong, it will stand alone. Its hand power must grow as its brain power grows, until with the help of both it will protect itself against aggression and violence.

Liberia has passed its infancy. It can stand alone. It is passing its childhood and gaining strength for self-protection. Its brain power is respectable, as the addresses and other documents written by its public men abundantly prove. But it wants more hand power. It needs population. It needs men with heads to plan and hands to execute; men with will and sinew to cultivate the exuberant soil, and add to the

wealth and strength of a growing State. It has a sufficiency for present use of Esquires, and Honorables, and Excellencies. It has enough of traders who cling to the shore and speculate on supplies for arriving immigrants. In a word, it wants more producers of wealth and less exchangers of products.

I congratulate the Society that the time has come to send emigrants to Liberia who know how to take care of themselves. The condition of our colored people has changed: and our mode of procedure which was necessary some years ago, when few but the poor and dependent were willing to emigrate, may now be changed with advantage. The time has come to encourage a self-paying emigration, or an emigration at least partly self-paying. Mr. Edward S. Morris of Philadelphia, who probably knows as much of Liberia as any man in America, and who has given the subject of African colonization much time, thought and money during the past quarter of a century, never spoke a truer word than this. "The man who has no money here, will have no money in Liberia." He, doubtless, meant that since emancipation has placed the destiny of our colored people in their own hands, the man who has not the industry to earn and the self-denial to save money in America, will be a burden and not a help in Liberia. Our colored people are beginning to practice thrift, to earn and save; and when any one of them shall have earned and saved two hundred and fifty dollars, he will be fit, if his moral character be good, to become a useful citizen of Liberia. If he have courage to go there, send him. Give him a free passage if you please. But do not send the timid, nor the shiftless, nor the lazy. Do not send the dandy *salon-de-chambre* of a gentleman—one who wears his hat on one side of his head, and holds a little cane in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He is too highly educated to be useful there. He will be a gentleman in caricature. Send stalwart, energetic men, who will not be afraid to go out of sight of ship and shore, who will go straight to the healthy interior with the means, either in cotton cloth, tobacco, or money, to buy a piece of land, build a house and make crops.

It is said when the Duke of Wellington commanded the British army in the war against Napoleon, he ordered a certain regiment to take spades and intrench. They hesitated, said they were gentlemen; came to fight, not to dig. Wellington wrote to the minister of war, "Send

me no more gentlemen, send me men." He wanted men who could handle a spade as well as a musket. So does Liberia. She wants more men with spade and hoe. Agriculture is the basis of all wealth; it supplies the material of commerce and manufactures; it is the handmaid of civilization, the support of nations. The wise man said, "The king himself is served by the field."

The exhibit which Mr. Morris made of Liberian products at our Centennial Exposition, demonstrated the ability of that country to supply commerce with a goodly number of articles which the people of other countries desire and will pay for. Coffee, indigo, palm-oil, palm-soap, ivory, cam-wood, India rubber, sugar, arrow-root, ginger, ground-nuts, iron ore, gums and spices are products which the world demands and will consume. These are the promise and prophecy of prosperity and power; but they are not to be had without labor. The observation of a Greek philosopher, "God gives nothing valuable to men without labor," is as true now as it was in the days of Socrates; as true of Liberia as of America. We must not deceive our colored friends by descriptions drawn from imagination and not from facts. Liberia is not an El Dorado where gold may be gathered like stones in the highway. Without industry, intelligently directed, there can be no prosperity anywhere. If the emigrant wants food or gold, he must dig for it; if he wants coffee, he must plant the trees and wait three years for a crop; if he wants a cabin for shelter, he must build it. There, as here, freedom means freedom to work, save and enjoy, or to be idle, destitute and miserable.

The Exodus Associations, now organizing in the United States, are taking steps in the right direction. They contribute money and send delegates to Liberia to examine and report the condition, climate, soil and productions of the country, select healthy localities at a distance from the coast, and ascertain on what terms lands may be purchased, either of the Liberian Government or the natives. If the reports be favorable, large numbers will apply for passage with means to establish themselves in the selected localities, and relieve the Society of all further expense.

It has been objected that this exodus will deprive the country of the labor of a valuable class of colored people, and leave behind the idle, the dissolute, the aged and infirm, a burden on the community. This

objection seems, on first view, to have some weight; but when we consider that our colored population is between four and five millions, it is obvious that the exportation of one or two thousand a year would reduce the productive force of the country in only an infinitesimal amount, and would cause no serious disturbance of its industrial interests. The exodus on any scale probable, or even possible within the lives of the present generation, will be but a small fraction of the natural increase of the race.

But if we admit, for the sake of argument, that the exodus of one in a hundred of robust, industrious men and women may diminish production temporarily in this country in a perceptible degree, its effect on the colored people who remain would be favorable. So far as competition for employment would be diminished, they would be better off. They would receive higher wages, because the labor supply would be less and the demand equal. They would receive better treatment from their employers, whose interest it would be to keep them in the country and in their service.

But there is no danger of "a corner" in the labor market. The comfortable and contented will not emigrate; the timid and ignorant will not. They who have young children or aged parents to support will "rather bear the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of." The ambitious, aspiring and discontented will emigrate. He who resents social ostracism and political inferiority will look to a country where his race is dominant and the government his own. It is not enough that his personal freedom is secure, that all his civil rights are guaranteed, that he has facilities for the education of his children, that his life, property and reputation are under the aegis of law; the intelligent, thinking colored man feels keenly that it is not in the law, nor in his stars, but in himself, that he is an underling. He is one of a depressed race; and so long as he remains under the shadow of a dominant race, so long will he remain an underling. He will go where he will be the peer of the best.

It would be an error for emigrants to expect, during the first few years of their residence in Liberia, all the comforts of life which they enjoyed in America. Such a mistake would lead to disappointment. The children of Israel were released from bondage, but, weary and footsore, hungry and thirsty, in their desert journey, they longed for the

leeks and onions and fleshpots of Egypt. So the despondent emigrant, during the early part of his residence, may say to our Society as the Israelites said to Moses, "Why hast thou brought us forth to die in this wilderness?" The early colonists who landed at Jamestown and Plymouth endured similar and more severe sufferings. Even those who heed the dictum, "Go West, young man," sacrifice something of present enjoyment to future well-being. The feeble in mind or body are discouraged; the strong and hopeful work and wait and reap their harvest of good in due time.

A self-sustaining emigration will be of immense value to the present Americo-Africans. The little republic needs men capable of bearing arms;—men to make roads to open up the country,—men of the various mechanical trades as well as farmers, who will contribute to the national wealth by their intelligence and industry. And who can estimate the blessings of such an emigration to the native tribes, especially to those which acknowledge allegiance to the Liberian government? What increase of products by labor more intelligently directed! What advancement in education! What moral and physical improvement! What diffusion of Christian light in the dark places of superstition! Where industry goes, commerce will follow; where commerce goes, the missionary will follow,—the Bible, the school, the printing-press, the steam-engine, the railway, all will follow in rapid succession.

There are political considerations which favor a closer connection than exists at the present time between Liberia and the United States. But it is not probable that either party desires annexation. Liberia would not willingly surrender her independence, however prematurely it was declared. Her citizens would feel themselves dwarfed if their country should become an appendage of a distant and powerful nation in which they would be of no more importance than one of its fifth rate cities. Nor would the people of the United States desire the annexation of an African territory with the responsibility of defending it in the event of a foreign war. Nations are more influenced by interest than by sympathy. They are slow to accept a bargain in which they take all the risk and expense, with but slender prospect of any compensating advantage. We are not going to make a railway from Monrovia to Cairo as a gratuity through sheer benevolence. Two and a-half centuries were required to prepare this country for a railway to the Pacific.

The railway from Monrovia to Cairo will be built, but it will be built piece by piece, as the needs of commerce and travel demand, and as capital shall find it a paying investment.

Annexation would not promote the safety of Liberia, but in certain contingencies would increase her perils. Except in conflicts with native tribes, the surest defence of Liberia is her weakness. No powerful nation would wage war against a people too feeble to make even a show of resistance. The whole world would cry "shame." But if Liberia were annexed, it would be the most vulnerable part of the United States. An outlying territory, the gate to the rich commerce of a continent, would be strongly coveted, easily seized, firmly held, and never evacuated except as the result of unsuccessful war. A protectorate, in some form, would conduce more to the safety of Liberia, and to the commercial and political interests of the United States than an organic union. We may rightfully say, we ought emphatically to say, to both her native and foreign enemies, if such there be, "Hands off! Don't touch this foster child of ours."

No doubt the English merchants covet Liberia, because they wish to monopolize the trade of all Western and Southern Africa, from the great desert to the Cape of Good Hope. They will defy when they dare, and intrigue when they cannot intimidate. They will lend money to an impecunious government, as the price of its independence; and when pay-day comes they will say, "stand and deliver," unless we dispute the claim. We have a right to share in that profitable commerce, and shall not suffer the gate to be barred against us. Self-interest will induce the United States to protect Liberia against the neighboring tribes, which are peaceable unless made hostile by foreign intrigue.

Permit me to say in conclusion, Mr. President, that this Society perceives in the near future the fruition of its hopes; the consummation of its work. It has encountered obloquy at home and discouragements abroad. In circumstances the most adverse, it has cherished an abiding faith in the final triumph of its cause. Its firm trust in God, and love of humanity, sustained it when even the colored people, whose best friend it was, turned their hearts and faces against it. And now the day is dawning. Light breaks in all over the land. Education, industry and frugality are preparing an emigration, of moderate numbers at first, but gradually swelling to a mighty stream, as Liberia shall

be in a condition to absorb it, until commerce, civilization and Christianity, overleaping the boundaries of the Americo-African republic, shall redeem the continent.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 21st, 1879,

BY

Rt. Rev. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, D.D., LL.D.,

Bishop of Central Pennsylvania.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON, CITY :
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1879.

ADDRESS.

No thoughtful American can withhold the acknowledgment that there is due to people of African descent, in this country, the best that can be done for their welfare and happiness. Their ancestors did not, like those of European stock, come here as colonists of their own accord to find new homes, and achieve a higher destiny. They were the victims of a policy then common to the civilized world. France, Spain and England drew from the shores of Africa unwilling servants to toil for them in their colonial possessions. And so, all along our Atlantic border, the children of Ham, were, before we became a nation, "hewers of wood and drawers of water,"—menials in house and field to other families of the human race.

In the progress of human events, their descendants, now numbered by millions, are here no longer in involuntary servitude. All legal impediments to their advancement are removed. They are now free to aspire after any social or civil position to which their intelligence, education, and moral worth may entitle them. They may amass wealth, wield influence, hold office, like any other citizens. And individuals of their race have achieved such distinction among us. I think there are very few who are offended by these examples of men who have struggled up from the general abasement of their people, disarmed prejudice, and fairly secured positions of prominence and respect. Enthusiasts, who once espoused their cause when all this was impossible, and who have visions of the future of the race which, I apprehend, can never be realized on this continent, say,—why not let them remain where they are, on their native soil, and work out the problem of life, under the advantages which now are accorded to them by the amended Constitution?

Doubtless, the great mass of them will continue; and get, and hold possession of all the titular rights which belong to American citizens. The removal of 5,000,000 of people across the ocean is too vast an enterprise to be seriously considered; most of them will abide where Providence, favoring or adverse, has fixed their lot. Yet it will be a new chapter in human history if with all the inherent difficulties of their position—difficulties which no change in the laws of the land can possibly annul—they can attain to the same level of social, commercial, and civil progression to which a dominant race of overshadowing numbers has long ago risen. And this perpetual inferiority will not be in any great degree attributable to the prejudice which persists in looking down upon a people who have once been in bondage. It is equally true that the Indian,—civilize him as much as you will,—and the Mongolian,—in whatever swarms he may come to our shores—can never compete on the same arena with the race that for a thousand years has been in the van of human progress, and has the advantage of prepossession of education, property and power. And so, the African, impeded by his condition and history in this country, and crowded off from the track of progress by competitors of traditional precedence and overwhelming numbers, will, save in a few exceptional cases, earn a precarious livelihood by the sweat of his brow, hated and spurned by the laborers of another race who dig and delve at his side.

The more intelligent and aspiring of African stock have a far more inviting field of enterprise open before them on their ancestral shores. A free Colony, which has now risen to the dignity of an independent Republic, and which has been planted long enough to demonstrate that it has in it the elements of permanency and progression, offers them an unstinted share in its noble mission, and in its exalted destiny. *There* is an unencumbered field in which they may seek advancement in all that man esteems honorable without encountering invidious rivalry or universal and indomitable prejudice. Here, at a disadvantage, because their civilization is inferior to that which surrounds and overshadows them,—thither they can carry a degree of moral and mental enlightenment which shall entitle them at once to social respect, and incite them to strive for the prizes of fortune and the honors of office.

For, most of the colonists who have already found a home in Liberia immigrated under far less favorable circumstances than theirs who now,

and hereafter, may embark on the same great life enterprise. They went in comparative ignorance, just released from the tutelage of servitude, and invested with the terrible responsibilities of liberty in a strange land. These have been for half a generation in the hard school of self-dependence—introduced by philanthropists to the rudiments of book-learning, and through freedom have regained the consciousness, and are fired with the ambitions of manhood. They can contribute to the common stock of society there more of the ingredients which constitute national strength, prosperity, and honor, than their predecessors could afford.

The pioneers have broken up the waste and made it ready, and have beaten back the savages that would drive them from the strand;—now is the time; and here are the men qualified by a special Providence to go in with the winnowed grain of a higher civilization, to “possess the land which the Lord swarc unto their fathers.”

The time for colonization has not passed by:—“the fulness” of it has just come. The tokens of this fact are found both here and in Africa. The experiment of political equality, now tried among us for nearly a score of years has not shown that all distinctions of race are or will be forgotten. Centuries cannot efface even the factitious lines of demarkation between the races, which a century of untoward relations has produced, and deeply scored. Nature forbids them to blend; and history pronounces that they cannot stand side by side on the same plane of elevation.

On the other hand, Africa was never so attractive as now. The American Colony, to which this Society has sent out more than 15,000 settlers is more prosperous than ever. It is recognized in the family of Nations. Its productions and exports are increasing year by year. Its intercourse with the more intelligent tribes of the interior is constantly widening and becoming more profitable. Its schools and other institutions for the advancement of the people; its laws and administration of government, are growing more efficient and better adapted to their needs. It has had no inconsiderable share in the suppression of the slave trade, which is now denounced by all civilized nations, and by the vigilance of their navies is almost banished from the seas. Just considered as a home for the colored race, where there are none to jostle them out of the way of progress—no impediment of law or

prejudice, or preoccupation on the arena of manly effort, where succeeding generations may reasonably hope to surpass their fathers in all that ennobles man and makes his life a joy to himself and a blessing to others, Liberia is, I believe, the most inviting spot on the habitable earth!

But, regarding the Colony on the Coast of Africa, planted, enlarged, cultivated, and defended by colored emigrants from the United States, as a theatre on which men of the same race can most hopefully exercise and develop the manhood that is in them, we do not half appreciate its advantages, if we think of it as a mere isolated community, bounded by the geographical limits, defined in the treaties with the barbarous tribes that compass it about; it is the gate of entrance to interior Africa. And, what interior Africa is we are only beginning to know. The researches of Barth and Livingstone, and our own Stanley, reveal to us that it is swarming with intelligent people, far superior to the tribes which on the sea coast have been debased by incessant wars, waged for the capture of prisoners to be sold to the slave-traders; that the population of the Continent is estimated at two hundred millions; that it is rich in arable lands and precious minerals; that navigable lakes and rivers traverse the interior, and that only civilization and enterprise (which are familiar to us, so that the products of them seem to us natural elements like fire and water), are required to introduce steamboats and railroads, and telegraphs. Then those vast resources which have been "hidden from ages and generations" shall be brought out and mingled with the commerce of the world, and the millions that now "sit in darkness" shall learn to live like men, and to die in hope of immortality!

Among the first colonies of historic times were those planted by the Phenicians on the Northern shores of Africa, where France, nominally Christian, and thoroughly tolerant, has now her Colony of Algeria. England has unfurled her Red-cross banner at Sierra Leone on the West, at Cape Colony and Natal on the South, and Zanzibar on the East; and America has her watch-tower also in the cordon of Christian civilization which almost girds the Continent. The circumvallation about the stronghold of ignorance and degradation is well-nigh complete. Why do not these allied hosts interchange the signal of onset, and rise up, and go in, and possess the land for humanity, and for God? Nay, why

have not the civilization and enterprise of Europe, and America long since penetrated "the dark Continent," and brought its people, and its products into contact with the commerce of mankind ? I answer;—first, because the reports of proceedings on the Coasts have made the tribes of the interior afraid to deal with the pale-faced and ruthless invaders from beyond the sea; second, because the climatic influences of the region have been regarded as fatal to the white race; and finally, because hitherto there have been no representatives of their own branch of the human family who in sufficient numbers have been uplifted by the civilization which they have rather seen than shared in other lands, and made willing to return to Africa, and there to do or to suffer for the regeneration of their "brethren after the flesh." When the Colonies of America and Great Britain, shall have trained or drawn to themselves from lands where they were once in bondage, and always in subserviency, Negro men of lofty hopes, and generous impulses, and practical education, and daring enterprise—then Central Africa will be reached by missionaries of civilization and religion; its resources will be developed, and circulated; its people will thrill with the sense of a new and higher life; and the story of its estrangement from the great family of nations will pass away. I pity the man of the swarthy skin, who, entrusted with the clues of liberty and education, has no ambition to follow them when they lead out of darkness and doubt to such a destiny,—to possibilities of good for himself and his progeny, nowhere else to be enjoyed !

In the distribution of the human race, the sons of Ham were assigned to Africa; to its peculiarities of food and climate their constitutions are accommodated. A century of life in other climes has not obliterated this natural adaptation. Experiment has proved that colored emigrants from America survive and flourish where men of another race lose vigor, sicken and die. They are the elected redeemers of their Father Land. It waits their coming:—it sent them forth with tears; it will receive them again with joy !

This Society, which once was impugned as an agent of domestic agitation, and again traduced as the enemy of the blacks, has in all time numbered among its supporters many of the distinguished divines, patriots and statesmen of our country. Its beneficent errand and work is, to aid worthy colored persons of either sex, and in any vigorous stage of life, who may desire to seek a home on the shores of that fruitful and

pleasant Continent from which their fathers were torn away; to help them in their outfit, and to secure them a freehold on their arrival.

It is a noble, and far-reaching charity, conferring a blessing not only on its immediate recipients, but on their children and children's children, "even to the years of many generations;"—not only on these, but by them replenishing that well-spring of life and hope, in the desert, the overflow of whose waters will refresh, and gladden the waste places that lie beyond. And again, the civilization which through this medium shall reach at length to the waiting myriads in Central Africa will give back a reflected light to the source of its emanation, and the entire world will be brighter and happier when there shall no longer be a dark and dreary spot on all its habitable compass.

I stood lately in Westminster Abbey, that Mausoleum of the mighty dead, at the spot where rest the weary feet of the great English Explorer, by whose adventurous journeys the world has learned so much of the "secret places" of the earth; and on Livingstone's monument which overhangs the place of his repose, I read the record of his prayer offered in loneliness in the wilds of Central Africa; and here I repeat it as my own in this place of concourse, "May Heaven's richest blessing come down on every one, American, English or Turk, who helps to heal the open sore of the world, Amen."

EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA.

A N A D D R E S S

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

January 21, 1879.

BY

Genl. S. C. ARMSTRONG,

Principal of Hampton Institute, Virginia.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON, CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1879.

ADDRESS.

What is the sentiment of the colored people of this country, the South especially, in respect to making the United States their home, and in respect to emigration to Liberia ?

A few evenings ago, I asked of the over two hundred young colored men and women who have come from throughout the land, principally from the South, to the Hampton school for an education, what they thought of going to Liberia. A dozen hands went quickly up. I inquired of each one the ground of his idea. A variety of reasons was given that, I believe, fairly illustrates the status of the negro mind on the Liberia question.

One young man had, in the spirit of Christian discipleship, consecrated himself to the work of preaching the gospel in that land; several felt that in this country the negro never will be, as they expressed it, "free;" that the black man is and will be far from being free to all that is open to the white man, and that only in a land of their own can they be on even terms with all, and find the freedom which they seek.

The students had heard of coffee culture in Liberia and of other inducements to go; but, on the other hand, some were awaiting letters from friends who had gone over promising to write how they got on, but had never been heard from; some had heard of great havoc among emigrants, and there was a general sense of insecurity and uncertainty as to that country.

One fair-skinned, bright girl had an uncle who had organized sixteen churches in Liberia and was full of hope and enthusiasm. She meant to go as a missionary; other young women had the same idea; the great

majority had no thought of emigration, and many had decided notions against the Republic.

As a whole, the students of Hampton expect to remain in this country, their idea being expressed by one who said "The colored man is better off here than anywhere else in the world."

Our students have, more than once, been addressed by prominent Southern men who have said to them, in effect: "Many of you are Virginians; we must work together to build up this Commonwealth. We believe in this work of education; you shall have your share of the school money and we will protect you in your rights."

This is the tone of progressive men at the South, and their strength is indicated by the fact that, at least in Virginia, no Democratic candidate dares venture, in his canvas for election to office, to denounce the public school system.

The intelligent colored men and women who are honestly working for the real welfare of their people in the Southern States, are, so far as I know about them, winning the respect, good-will and moral support of the people of all classes, and in spite of many discouragements, are generally cheerful and contented. Even the average freedman does not care to change his home. Yet, in some quarters, there are grievous complaints of hard times, poor pay and bad treatment, which create a desire for a place where living may be easier.

It would be strange if among the four millions of Anglo-Africans there were not men of honest purpose, and good capacity, anxious to try a country of their own. The missionary idea is gaining strength every year. The little company of graduates from negro schools in America, one of them from Hampton, who are doing excellent work at the Mendi Mission, under the American Missionary Association, near to Liberia, is proof that the peculiar field of the enlightened freedmen of this country is not forgotten.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston is looking to the South for men to enter the grand field opened up by Stanley whenever the means shall be in hand; and I do not think it will seek in vain.

Twelve years ago an earnest but unsuccessful effort was made by that Board to secure colored missionaries for Africa; yet there were many scores of educated negroes in the Northern States.

We are likely, I believe, to find in the South the finest products of Anglo-African civilization, a better, simpler, more straight-forward development. Thence, not exclusively of course, will go across the sea the men who will best illustrate to the world the capabilities of their race. White men will get a large part of the money that is to be made from African trade, but I have faith that colored men will do their full share in the work of regeneration waiting to be done there, the need of which is the most piteous "Macedonian Cry" that ever was sent over to Christendom.

Africa—Liberia as one of its open doors—is the field for an Anglo-African crusade. No other region is for a moment to be thought of compared with this. Just as, in the Providence of God, his people are set free, and the young and earnest and able among them are rising to a plane of Christian manhood and womanhood, the wonders and resources of the Dark Continent are unfolded. Who doubts the final triumph of right over wrong in the carrying back there of the very Christ to build up whose Kingdom the slave-hunters were unconscious agents.

But there must be men and women of pure devotion and lives, of clear, wise heads, and endowed with common sense. The requisition for common sense will be the hardest to fill.

Among our colored people there is a discontented class; on edge with things here; much occupied with its grievances, and, those of this class who are plucky and adventurous, are disposed to try the Colored Republic.

As things are here, the finer the cultivation of a colored man, the keener his sufferings—especially in the North, where his mental and moral wants are so lavishly supplied, but his social cravings neglected, and his tinted skin is a *taboo* from congenial association. I think I am right in stating that their advanced culture in America tends to skepticism. The old religious nature is, to an educated negro, withered by the pain that comes from finding that that which God made, his complexion, is as a sign set against him a—mark of degradation.

Yet among the colored people themselves there is a prejudice of color, here unobserved, because overpowered by that of the whites which lumps together under its ban the purest black and the clearest white (provided a few drops of negro blood can be traced to the latter,) and by making common cause between them forces them into one social body. Remove

this pressure from the outside and those of pure and mixed blood become mutually jealous; the latter assuming a superiority by reason of the white or "Norman" blood in their veins, and the pure being proud of their purity. This is illustrated in Jamaica where the whites, colored and blacks are completely severed socially. A trustee of Liberia College told me that this question had given some trouble in the appointments at that institution, and it appears in Liberian politics. Going over there is not entire escape from prejudice of color.

There was evinced, in my conversation with the students at Hampton, much curiosity about Liberia. They represent a class of negroes who take a very matter-of-fact view of that country; they wish to "better themselves," and in their pinching poverty, and in the money famine of the South, turn eagerly to brighter prospects.

Wise, just treatment of the colored laborer in the South is far from universal. I never saw or heard of a successful Southern farmer who did not believe in negro labor as "the best in the world;" yet one of the leading agricultural journals says, "We are cursed with negro labor."

The "darkey" is a convenient scapegoat for those who want to blame somebody if ends don't meet. Good, kind management and wise directing heads are indispensable to success with colored workmen, and that they don't always get; the latter depend very much for the value of their labor upon favorable outward conditions, the frequent absence of which is to be expected in their circumstances.

Liberia, as giving to the enterprising but discontented or ill-treated negro laborer scope and challenge for all his powers, is a most important factor in reconstruction. It is simple justice, very inadequate, but so far as it goes is a recognition of his claim to try the land he was torn from.

Thirty years ago, statesmen like Clay and Webster talked of the nation's debt to the negro, and this inspired the Colonization scheme, which commanded a strong support from the South. After slapping the abolitionists in the face with their talk of right and wrong, a later generation freed the slave, as a war measure enfranchised him, used his vote as political capital, and, after squandering it, have left the burden of his education and improvement to the old slave-holders. The account has not yet been squared. It is as true to-day as it was thirty

years ago that there is debt to the race brought here by violence and wrong, and a part of that debt is a fair chance in the land of their fathers.

A difficulty in the Liberian question is the negroes' self-distrust. The race has sadly, perhaps inevitably, adopted the white man's idea of itself. It has, as a whole, no enthusiasm, no idea or sentiment.

It lacks organizing power, guiding instincts. It has no genius for throwing and keeping uppermost its best and ablest men; it has plenty of feeling, but no flow of it, no tendency to any clear and general end or purpose. Such tendency is developed slowly, by long experience, by endless struggle with difficulty ending in victory, and that the citizens of Liberia have just commenced. The ex-slave is not easily allured to a country ruled by his own people. I have an impression that the Liberians are lacking, like the race here, in *esprit de corps*, in patriotic sentiment and in strong administration.

There should be accorded to the freedmen the widest opportunity to make for themselves homes on African shores if they choose to try it. I rejoice in the existence of the Colonization Society, believing in its work, the founding of an African Republic. I believe in it as a beginning not as an end; a hopeful beginning; a good showing for thirty years of effort. It is not a power; but is it not a germ of power? Generations alone can answer this. To disparage it by contrast is to reproach the negro for being unfortunate. It were better to blame the Almighty directly for His doings in permitting suffering, injustice and misfortune to exist.

Give the negro a chance. You don't despise the tottering steps of a little child: time and hard knocks only can bring strength. Let the black man's slender self-respect stiffen by struggle, and his race pride gain by race effort. In the United States it is a curse to be black; the highly educated negro is like a man without a country. Help him to make one for himself.

The African race has been pushed suddenly from the depths of bondage to the highest liberty; it has skipped centuries in the line of development. On its unaccustomed height it is confused; it is in its own way; easily victimized by bad men, and troubles are inevitable.

Genuine progress is slow, and is the result not so much of struggle, as of successful struggle. The thing must not only be attempted, but it must be done, and there should be a century in which to do it.

When a Northern man recently asked me "Have the colored people improved in morals in the past ten years," I asked him, "Has New England improved in morals in the past ten years?" Every stage of civilization has its peculiar difficulties and nations forge slowly ahead.

Progress is a moral rather than a material thing. All that is good in civilization is "The sum of the sacrifices of those who have gone before us."

The African question, at bottom, is whether there will be enough men and women of that race who shall unselfishly and wisely devote themselves to its welfare. Whatever shall be fine in their future will rest on this foundation of sacrifice.

Has Liberia the men, or can she get them from here? With them her future is assured, and she will move Africa.

Ten such men would save her.

The Colonization Society claims much for its success so far. Considering that it has planted exotic ideas where men have for ages been fixed in the lowest conditions, the Republic may be considered a wonder. Compare it with the early stages of our own country's growth and there is nothing to discourage.

We know too little about her. The roll of pamphlets sent me to read contains no exhaustive statement of facts, but general expressions of praise. I never felt really informed about Liberia till I read the letters of Mr. Williams, correspondent of the *Charleston News and Courier*, whose mingled criticism and commendation made the Republic appear like any new terrestrial region, full of advantages and of disadvantages. For the first time I found what an intelligent man would say against it. There is need of a fair, forcible account of that country, with maps and pictures, that shall be to the colored man what a chart is to a sailor—a guide to success and a guard against disaster.

How about colored communities in the United States?

A colony composed of the 450 manumitted slaves of John Randolph was, in 1846, placed in Miami County, Ohio. "They suffered much at first from prejudice, yet soon found kind friends. While producing nothing remarkable, the old have died off and the new generation has made considerable advancement. They, however, owe more to external influences than to inherent qualities." This statement I gleaned from an apparently reliable letter to the *New York Tribune*.

There are negro communities of which I have no definite knowledge, notably one or two in Canada; but all, I believe, were established by an influence from without. Certainly, in America, the negroes show no tendency in themselves to segregate.

They drift to the cities in throngs, where their mortality increases and their self-respect, as a class, seems to diminish.

In a simple, industrious, country life, the freedmen gain in numbers and in average prosperity and worth.

Against this background of life in America, stands Liberia, attempt-achievements whose success its record here makes doubtful.

Let us wait and see the negro on his own ground, on his own resources, blundering away, but slowly learning from his blunders—as we all do—getting experience and digesting it. Let the negro race maintain a respectable republic, and it will furnish the best possible answer to the charge so often made, “The negro has done nothing.”

THE DUTY OF STRENGTHENING LIBERIA.

AN ADDRESS

BY

HON. G. WASHINGTON WARREN,

Delivered in Washington, D. C.,

AT THE

Sixty-Third Annual Meeting of

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 20, 1880.

Published by Request of the Society.

WASHINGTON CITY :

COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

1880.

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The American Colonization Society is distinguished from all other charitable and benevolent institutions in this, that it is organized, and holds its place of business in the National Capital. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and other large cities have organized Societies which from those centres extend their operations throughout the country; and they have State Societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society. But it is a significant fact, and indicative of the National and supreme importance of our Society, that it was founded here in Washington, that here it has held its Annual Meetings for nearly two-thirds of a century, and has during all this period, had its executive committee composed of eminent and patriotic men holding frequent sessions here, and diligently endeavoring to promote its philanthropic objects.

Again, this Society, more than any other in our country, has heretofore held intimate relations with our National Government, and has been its selected agent in carrying out its most delicate and humane mission. After Liberia had been established on the western coast of Africa, by the far-seeing wisdom of the founders of the American Colonization Society, whenever, during that darkest period of the slave trade, our ships of war seized a slave-ship, and brought her into an American port, the Government contracted with it to transport to and colonize the re-captured Africans in that home of the free. In the course of time, Liberia which had become the home of so many who had been snatched or redeemed from slavery, was an efficient and zealous instrument in the cause of humanity, in breaking up that most detestable traffic.

Every great nation has had its colonies. History is full of the settlements of new countries by peoples banished or voluntarily emigrating from their homes, and of the exactions made upon them as they grew up and flourished, but were still kept in subjection as tributaries to the mother country. Liberia is the only instance in history of a free and independent nation colonized by another country—not indeed by the Government, but by its incorporated Society, which thus has become the founder of a distant State, destined to have a leading influence in the Christianization of a Continent. It will be the province of History at some future period, to draw a parallel between the policy and aims, and their comparative results, of the East India Company and those of the American Colonization Society: the one founded upon the lust of personal gain and plunder, and for the extension of National dominion, the other solely in the interest of humanity and for the amelioration of a down-trodden race.

If the United States has greatly developed her material resources by the enforced employment of the slave labor of those of African descent in the cultivation of what was once her chief staple, she not only has expiated the National sin by the sacrifice of blood and treasure in the late war, resulting in emancipation, but she, as it were, made an atonement in advance by presenting to Africa the form and example of a free republic in Liberia.

President Anthony W. Gardner, in his message addressed to the first session of the 17th Legislature of Liberia on the 10th of last month, depicts in glowing terms the auspicious omens of their National prosperity and their means of advancing the permanent interests of the neighboring peoples. He recommends the passage by the Legislature of a resolution of thanks to the Government of the United States for sending the U. S. ship *Ticonderoga* at a critical juncture, and for the friendly services rendered by her Commander, Commodore Shufeldt. He recommends liberal appropriations for the support of the schools and the college, and favors the encouragement of internal improvements. Let me quote a few eloquent passages on the Mission of Liberia.

“Permit me to remark to you, gentlemen constituting this honorable body, our duty to our Brethren of the Interior is providentially plain before us. Let us heed the Macedonian call now, lest we have cause

when too late, to regret it. God in His overruling providence has inclined and predisposed the hearts of our Aboriginal brethren toward us for good. Let me urge upon you the importance of heeding the divine monition, and of engaging in the work of enlarging our borders, and making strong our bands, by uniting with this intelligent people who like ourselves can read and write (though in a different language) and who occupy no mean rank in mathematical and classical literature. A people who for many generations have been free from the destructive effects of intoxicating drinks, and are therefore in the happy enjoyment of an unimpaired body and mind, an undwarfed manhood, and a soul that delights in the free worship and adoration of the Great God, the merciful and the compassionate. * * * *

“The aboriginal tribes also in and about Cape Palmas with the exception of the Bereby section, present a most encouraging and gratifying aspect. * * * *

“From these references, gentlemen, your honorable body will be able to form some idea of the vast and favorable opportunities presented to Government for uniting our brethren of the tribes around and beyond with ourselves, and thus laying the foundation of a powerful future State. * * * *

“I am willing, gentlemen, and I believe you are, to follow the indications of the Great Arbiter of all events in the work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. Who can divine the motive that induced the Mohammedan King, Ibrahima Sissi, to seek the co-operation of the Liberian Government? Who can foresee the sublime results that may hang upon the appeals echoing from the Barline, Mar, Soreka, and Grebo tribes, for a more intimate connection with Liberia in all her interests? Admit that their motives are wholly selfish and mercenary. Admit that their object is only for gain; even in that case they will compare favorably with other nations and peoples on the globe who make a much louder boast of having higher aims in view than the mammon of this world. But can you positively assert that there may not be a background of the most thrilling events, pregnant with the highest interests of African elevation and redemption behind the scenes? You cannot; you dare not.

“It seems to me that I can see in the call of the Mohammedan chief the fall, or the bowing of the crescent before the cross, at least, in Af-

rica. And who can tell the part that Christian Liberia is to play in this great drama? Gentlemen, allow me to repeat, we have a great work before us, and it is our duty as a Christian Government to go forward, and do all we can in our day and generation, to bring about the grand result, not only for the unification, but the civilization and Christianization of the thousands of heathen now sitting in darkness and in the region and shadow of death." * * * *

In concluding this topic, he announces the Liberian policy to be, "Interior development; and the incorporation of the native tribes into the Liberian Body Politic."

Mr. President, it would seem from reading these words, warm from the pen of the President of Liberia, and in the presence here of those who have grown gray in this cause, that our Society might hope for the speedy realization of the desire of its founders, and say with Simeon, of old, "Our eyes have seen Thy salvation which Thou hast prepared in the presence of all the people."

Now is the glorious opportunity of this Society. What is wanted is, that through its officers and agents, at public meetings and through the press, it should make an appeal in earnest to the whole country.

The apathy which has lately fallen upon our people with regard to helping on the African colonization cause is owing to a strange misapprehension of our duty. We often hear it said, Your Colonization Society did much good in the time of slavery in the South, but, since the day of emancipation, its mission is ended. The colored people have a right to stay here, and their labor is wanted here. If any wish to go to Liberia, let them obtain the means themselves. At any rate, it is no affair of ours; we are not responsible for their present condition. Now this position is untenable: we are all wrong. The fact is, the whole country, and every State, as part of the Union, is morally responsible for the former existence of African slavery in the South, and the consequent present condition of the freedmen. All the old States agreed to the continuance of the slave trade for twenty years after the formation of the Constitution of the United States. Subsequently, the whole country became responsible for the enforcement of the law for the rendition of fugitive slaves from within its borders; and for those Northern statesmen educated in the North, who afterwards settled in Southern States, became Governors, or Senators and Representatives in

Congress, and were most pronounced in their pro-slavery opinions and influence. We have only to remember that the late civil war was for the defense of the National integrity. Southern States claimed the right to secede. The North and West declared secession impossible—that our country was indivisible. By the grand result, we are all members of one body politic. If, therefore, one member suffers, all the other members suffer with it. If there is local disorder in one part, the other parts are affected. If the cholera or yellow fever decimates the population in one State, the other States send relief. If the Indian is wronged, the whole country moves for him. And so, the problem of the proper care of the freedmen is a problem for the whole Nation to solve. What the Government cannot or will not do, the people should be asked to supply.

Now thousands upon thousands of the freedmen yearn to go to their fatherland. If we throw obstacles in their way, if we refuse to aid them, because they are wanted to till the soil and raise the profitable crops of this country, we are just so much partakers in the guilt of our ancestors who favored the bringing of the ancestors of the freedmen from Africa here, and placing them in bondage for their labor.

The American Colonization Society has now a broader field than ever before, and it deserves a place among the missionary efforts and benevolent objects of the Christian community. By a zealous prosecution of its missionary work, not only will Africa be brought more and more under the benign influence of Christianity, but the condition of the freedmen remaining at the South will be vastly improved, when it shall be known, that if they cannot fully enjoy the equal rights of citizenship, they may readily obtain the means of going to what they would deem a better country, where they could work out their own destiny as a distinct race, and could accomplish the greatest results under the most favorable conditions. We ask, therefore, for the sympathy, the moral support, and the generous aid of the whole country.

And one word more ought to be said at this sixty-third Anniversary Meeting in the National Capital. Two things can the National Government, in the proper exercise of its constitutional functions, do for the cause of our Society. Congress can respond favorably to the able memorial presented at its last session for an appropriation for explorations and surveys of the western coast of Africa, and from Liberia into Cen-

tral Africa, in the interest of commerce and civilization. And the Executive might be authorized to employ some of the U. S. Steamships in carrying bi-monthly mails from one or more ports of the United States, so that, no longer we shall be dependent upon British steamers, via Liverpool, as a means of communication with the Republic we founded: and that no longer we shall be in danger of losing our well-earned prestige on the African coast, by the superior enterprise and foresight of the British Government; but shall henceforth show ourselves able and willing to cherish and secure the commercial advantages which we were the first to develop. And shall not the plea of humanity be made and answered? The United States, in her early history, lifted up her voice for the freedom of Modern Greece; she has repeatedly exerted her National power to rescue a naturalized citizen from the custody of his native country which claimed him as her subject. And will she not now grant this boon to those deserving freedmen who long for their fatherland, and to Liberia which has sprung from her very loins, and which promises to be a remedial power for the healing of the African Nations?

THE EXODUS:

Its Effect upon the People of the South.

COLORED LABOR NOT INDISPENSABLE.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

American Colonization Society,

JANUARY 21, 1880,

— BY —

REV. C. K. MARSHALL, D. D.,

OF VICKSBURG, MISS.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON CITY :
COLONIZATION ROOMS, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1880.

Extract from the Minutes of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, at the Annual Meeting held in Washington, D. C., January 21, 1880 :

“On motion, it was

“RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Board are hereby tendered to the Rev. C. K. MARSHALL, D. D., of Vicksburg, Miss., for his able, interesting, and instructive Address just delivered, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same with a view to publication.”

A true copy.

Attest:

WILLIAM COPPINGER,
Secretary.

ADDRESS.*

MR. PRESIDENT :

For many years I have taken a deep interest in the labors of the Society over which you so fittingly preside. I have studied its principles, watched with sympathy its achievements, and prayed for its success. At the South, since the war, we have been so rocked upon stormy billows, that we have not had the time or means to keep up our former interest in the Society, and it seems almost as if the Society and the South had mutually forgotten each other.

Nevertheless the institution has survived the thousand perils of the past, and it is to-day a living entity—healthy, brave, and prepared for carrying on its work ; and to me it seems as if, though it is the sixty-third anniversary of your life, your real work has scarcely commenced. As a child, as a youth, it has been full of promise and has accomplished much, as some youths perform manly work before their beards are grown. But a new era has dawned upon this land ; old things have passed away—new things wear their shoes ; new forms of evil have arisen, and philanthropic men are looking to find appropriate remedies for them, while old grievances must be remedied by fresh and energetic measures.

The South is no longer what it was when this Society was organized. The Negro is no longer a bondsman. Nor yet is he

*NOTE.—It is proper that I should say the address is the substance of what was said on the occasion of its delivery in the city of Washington, and, I regret to say, is my first contribution of the sort to the objects of the Society. Some points have been forgotten, others enlarged and hints amplified to bring out the suggestions which time did not admit of full utterance. It would never have been written but for the unexpected resolution passed by the Board asking for it. Imperfect and too hastily written, I yet consent to its publication in hope of its doing some good. The exodus I have somewhat encouraged, even to the West, hoping that its soil might prove an eye-salve to its blinded victims. C. K. M.

VICKSBURG, MISS., *January*, 1880.

altogether a freeman. In his interest this Society specially toils. But our entire people—40,000,000 of Caucasians—are alike bettered by your labors and victories. As the friend of the colored race I speak to you. I have lived among them; preached to them; witnessed their progress as slaves; have seen their development into Christian character; watched the great improvement of their physical and social condition for half a century; and I do not believe the peasantry of any country, ancient or modern, ever made so great progress in any ten decades as the negroes of the South have done;—nor do I believe any other peasantry ever enjoyed so much of life, or were so comfortably clothed, fed, and lodged. To no other peasantry has the Gospel ever been more faithfully preached, nor a higher type of churchmanship evolved. Still the Negro is less comfortable, less moral, less happy now than formerly, with exceptional cases. He has learned the multiplication table, and forgotten his prayers. However, he is capable of great improvement, and ought to be furnished with a suitable field and proper facilities for the progress in education, religion, art, science, agriculture, and government of which he is capable. But, as the Rev. Mr. Bryant, the Liberian, who addressed the Society last night, observed most wisely and suggestively, “the Negro can never rise to any eminence or honor on the American Continent.” The Caucasian lifts his unattainable altitude in his presence and overwhelms and disheartens him. Among millions of his own race, it would be quite otherwise. African citizenship would furnish inspiring and possible standards of attainment, and he would gladly compete in the race for the higher prizes and places among his own people, while future years would perhaps lift a higher standard still. Not only is the white standard discouragingly high as he now regards it, but his great change of relationships has not been satisfactorily favorable to his improvement. He was emancipated from commercial bondage to be enthralled in the meshes of political jugglery, and consequently he is still an article of trade. The ballot-box is his bane. As a voter he can be transported to cold, inhospitable climes, and to conditions and surroundings utterly fatal to his well-being. Hence the present exodus.

But I am far from believing in the disgraceful stories conjured up concerning the oppression, cruelty, outrage, and violence imposed upon him in his Southern home. These falsehoods have been refuted over and again. Not that there may not have been many

discomforts and very little money made for a few years past, but in all these matters the white people have suffered far more than the blacks, and many of them have emigrated to other States in hopes of bettering their affairs. Yet no howl is heard for them. The causes of negro discontent are involved in no mystery,—are patent to every calm and unbiassed observer.

His confidence has been abused—his hopes blasted. Promises made to him remain as dead as they were when made. For promised bread, he was given a stone; for an egg, a scorpion; for a fish, a serpent. Like great wealth thrust suddenly upon an inexperienced and imperilled youth, emancipation naturally dazed him. Yesterday at the handles of the plow; to-day at the helm of State. Yesterday an honored barber; to-day the governor of a commonwealth. Yesterday a faithful coachman; to-day a legislator. Yesterday a humble, plain, respectful field-hand; to-day a member of Congress. Poor yesterday and a thrall as well; to-day he is courted, caressed, and taken into the confidence, the counsels, and the patronage of the learned, the powerful and great. Yesterday he drove a cart; to-day he is a justice of the peace;—not for his learning in legal lore, but for his African descent. Penniless to-day, he is told, and believes it, that to-morrow he “will receive from the general government forty acres and a mule.” Alas! to him it is all dead leaves and chaff. His elevation was transitory. His hopes were not realized. His pretended friends pledged, vowed, and promised—only to drop him on the cold rocks. The South, following the example of the North, has gradually reduced the negro to a plane as unimportant and as destitute of distinction as that of the negro of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York. A thousand things combine to fill him with feelings of discontent. He is now told of Kansas. Flaming pictures, and false as gaudy, are spread before him to show the ease, wealth, luxury, and independence of the black man in Kansas. Agents penetrate the whole South and preach the shining prospects of an exodus to Kansas. Fine houses, fertile lands, mules, money, and all desirable things await his arrival in the promised land—the Canaan of Kansas.

Now, to me, Mr. President, this is a matter of very great significance,—*this unrest of the ex-slave*. It is well-nigh universal. Many of the best conditioned, the most respected, and the most thrifty, have left homes and gone to Kansas and Indiana, while

tens of thousands of American white families never tasted or knew anything equal to the comforts and advantages from which they have fled as "refugees." (?) We know that the grossest falsehoods have been employed; we know that the most iniquitous measures have been adopted to stimulate the negro to emigrate. Still all that does not account for the phenomenon of general unrest. Birds of passage never migrate in June; nor do they all rise at one signal and fly in a body. A few storks, a small number of cranes or swallows will lead off, and then a few more, before the final departure. Nor do they always abide in the fields or forests, lakes or streams where they may have first alighted for rest, or food, or exploration.

So this exodus is, to my view, preliminary. A few thousands will take wing. But it is monitory, and must command the attention of the political economist, the statesman, the churchman, and the planter. In all probability, New-Year's day on the morning of the 1st of January, 1920, the colored population in the South will scarcely be counted. Perished, emigrated, vanished. A few old people will linger, as the Cherokees do on their reservation in North Carolina, and a small number here and there who may still earn precarious bread as they pass away. Long before that period, ten millions of bales of cotton will be raised by white labor, and the manufacture of eight-tenths of the cotton fabrics will be the work of the South. But this exodus is out of season. "The stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow observe the times of their coming." This exodus is a sort of abnormal flight in mid-summer. But the normal season may not be many decades in the future.

However, I must glance over the past a little and trace the strange events that have culminated in the astonishing and significant facts which now environ us.

The eyes of all the foremost nations of the world are now fixed upon Africa as never before. Until a recent period that undiscovered continent was an iron-bound and steel-clasped Volume. Numerous bold, intelligent adventurers for ages fretted and filed its massive and resisting coverings and pried laboriously at its interlacing clasps—but all in vain. Other fearless endeavors of courageous men resulted in forcing the bindings and scanning the preface.

Now pause a moment and look in another direction. See Clark-

son and Wilberforce knocking, as original abolitionists, at the doors of the British Parliament, on the one hand, and African explorers, on the other, laboring to open and enter the hidden land. Both parties are alike repulsed. Then the doctrines of those leaders of the battle take root in American soil; and the scenes of the Niger and the Parliament are in other forms re-enacted here. The demands of abolitionism are imperious and alarming as a new factor in American controversy, and rapidly growing to stalwart proportions.

On the other hand stands the "AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY." The organization was the outgrowth of as pure an element of Christian philanthropy as ever moved the breasts of men. Disinterested almost beyond a parallel, its purposes and aims were at once so Christian, so benevolent, so practical, that the most eminent statesmen, civilians and divines, North and South, bestowed the influence of their names, their time and labor and money, to promote the grand work taken in hand. Emigrants are settled in Liberia. The colony becomes a reality; its republican government a fixed fact. A great problem is solved. Still contending elements struggle for the mastery at home. Meantime explorers push their tents a little further inward on the barbarous coasts—but the book is not opened—God's hour has not struck!

Then came our war, rolling its fiery billows over the land "with confused noise and garments rolled in blood." But Livingstone is turning back the heavy lids of the mysterious Volume under the torrid blaze of Africa's equatorial suns, undisturbed by "the battle of the warrior." Years of fearful havoc rage and roll away.

Finally the Union stands! And with the Union four millions of slaves rise up divested of their ligaments of bondage.

Then the world is startled and shocked at the news of the death of Livingstone in the African jungles. Nations mourn him dead and write his epitaph! Not dead but lost! This singular event made Stanley possible. He comes to the front with a mission more perilous than Jason's, seeking the golden fleece. A born explorer,—intrepid, persevering, intelligent; the man for the emergency, he moves steadily on to victory. Livingstone survives! Stanley is fired with new zeal for exploration, and soon lifts to view one of the sublimest spectacles any traveller ever achieved. His name will go down to the ages and generations as one of the greatest known geographical discoverers. Nor less remarkable

is the fact that a young American, James Gordon Bennett, was the generous and philanthropic person who furnished the outfit and sustained and cheered the brave explorer. Livingstone, Bennett, Stanley! What a trine of names! Names which must live for ages among the millions of Africa and run like a golden thread through the songs, narratives, and orations of the coming generations of enlightened African peoples. Brothers in noble deeds—a unit in fame—their memories are embalmed in the grateful benedictions of the civilized world. Africa is redeemed! The formidable clasps are ground to powder, the massive coverings torn away, and the mystic Volume laid open to the inspection and perusal of all nations.

Let us now return home and observe another and most significant event, as an important item in this singular combination.

After the conflict of arms the South was too impoverished to render any considerable aid to the education of the young freedman. However, assistance came. Nine universities and nearly thirty colleges have already been established for the fullest practical development of the freedman's capabilities. More recently the Southern States have contributed by legislative appropriations for his education. Five hundred young men of African blood will be graduated annually from these schools in the near future; then a thousand, and so will they probably continue increasing for years to come.

Now comes *unrest*; now a strange desire for a permanent home—a final abode—a national autonomy.

The sentiment may take on multifarious shapes as the mind is capable of greater or lesser grasp. But migration will from this time forward, in some form or other, from one or many and quite dissimilar motives, become the significant event among the people of African descent.

Migration is the normal condition of the human race. It is the founder of nationalities. It is the fertilizer of decaying races. It is the almoner of science and literature. It is the parent of commerce; the civilizer of barbarians and savages; the hope of the unfortunate and the refuge of the down-trodden. It is the Christianizer of all peoples. It commenced at the gates of Eden, and its pilgrims are still moving on, asking the way to a resting-place and a home. It will be the salvation of Africa. As the colored people increase in knowledge, as the number of educated

men and women increase, they will naturally desire a field for the employment of their abilities. They are ambitious; they are progressive; they are capable. Many instances illustrative could be furnished, but I aim at too great brevity to rehearse them. Suffice it to say that in the languages, in mathematics, in architectural and mechanical drawing, in manufactures, and many other branches of knowledge and labor and learning, they have taken the Southern people—the most intelligent of them—by surprise. What then? Unrest! And why? Because he has culminated; and as a politician, as a mold of the fortunes of the people, he is rapidly declining. Wax and wane he may, but he will chiefly wane. And ten thousand Negro scholars, many of whom will be capable of professorships in respectable colleges, will only find a support (as some are now doing) in the dull round of plantation labor, far from educated companionship and congenial associations. Trades they cannot learn. Ask the “trades-unions” of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore how many Negroes belong to them? How many Negroes in the old free States are apprenticed to learn printing, shoemaking, carving, carpentering, engraving, paper-making, telegraphing, engineering, or any other mechanical pursuit? Nearly none; practically none. White men in the South are intermingled in those pursuits and vocations with emigrants from the North, and they brought their theories and demands of the trades-unions with them, so that American sentiment in those imperious unions on these questions is a unit. The Negro is excluded from learning trades. Briefly, view the situation from what point of the political, social, and industrial compass you may, the Negro must forever remain a dwarf on American soil.

Senator Windom says the Negro is or has been “the foot-ball of politics.” And his experiments on the “*ball*” entitle his opinions to great consideration. The natural state of a “*ball*” is motion. And the same service and uses of the “*ball*” heretofore will hereafter and to the bitter end be the rule. The contending forces will seize or repel the vagrant “*ball*,” kicking it hither and thither, as long as it is a political factor. It is this base use of the colored man that re-enslaves him. He asks for real freedom, but only a sort of tantalizing nebulous thing is attained, *North* or *South*. Each generation will decline in manhood, in aspiration, in refinement, in real ability and solid comfort where he now frets out his

weary days without any hopes of a really noble future. White labor will—must take his place.

Three-fifths of the 900,000 bales of cotton made in Texas in 1879, as I am informed by an intelligent citizen of that State, were made by white labor, and the cotton made by the Germans commanded one cent per pound more than the cotton raised by the Negro. And what is true of Texas is soon to be realized in facts and figures in other States. And if this is an over-estimate, the forthcoming census report will place the matter correctly before us. Planters have testified to the fact that some of the best crops of sugar raised in Louisiana have been made by white labor. Indeed, almost every nation is represented in the out-door labor of the Southern States, and it will rapidly increase. It is the last and only security of the South, and her path to prosperity, honor, and peace.

Now, sir, put all these grave and telling considerations together, and then say if it is wonderful that disquiet, disappointment, and unrest should arise in the ranks of the freedman, or that he should wish to try some new field of growth and improvement, in hopes of advancing to a higher destiny. Nor should our citizens in the cotton and sugar regions be surprised if the theory of emigration so well-nigh universally discussed among the dark race should finally crystallize into a fixed purpose to make the experiment on a grand scale. And perchance in the end it will be found that the strange impulse, like the November throbbings of the hearts of migratory birds touched by a mysterious hand, shall indicate the arrival of the tardy hour when some anointed leader shall step to the front and speak: "Arise; let us depart hence, for this is not our rest." Kansas and the West and the present exodus thereto are premature and premonitory, but preliminary and prophetic.

Now, Mr. President, what have we seen? We have seen Africa robbed of her children. Like the Babylonish garment and the wedge of gold, the robbery was bold, dastardly, complete. Her sons were sent round the world and sold in the shambles. It was Achan's theft. But evil fell on the people among whom the spoils were kept. It was not the crime of the South; it was the crime of America; it was the fearful crime of England. It was the terrible and inexcusable transgression of the Achan of a sinister, impious, and God-defying civilization.

What next? Four millions of free and comparatively educated

barbarians. They may not know geometry and Greek, but they have acquired muscle, manners, manliness, practical sense, business habits, the language of Shakspeare and Washington, the tasteful uses of apparel, the arts of cookery, house-keeping, sewing, nursing, waiting, and, in waiting, they have learned and caught the best ideas, the greatest facts, the most valuable suggestions, and, as a sort of confidant, were taken into the interests, the esteem, the love, and honor of the master, the mistress, and the household. All this, however, did not atone for Achan's guilt. It is a Babylonish garment; it is a wedge of gold.

Then we see Clarkson and Wilberforce in England, like Joshua, calling for the restoration of the spoils; while Mungo Park, the Landers, and others were preparing for the birth of a new world and the restoration of the exiles to their own native homes. Afterward came Livingstone, Barth, Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, Cameron, and De Serpa Pinto, who, by their marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice and devotion, have opened "the land of darkness as darkness itself," so that from the Equator to the Cape of Good Hope the way will soon be prepared for planting every enterprise and establishing every mission the Christian world may undertake.

What now do we find as a coincidence so significant that no thoughtful philanthropist can undervalue it? We find, sir, THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY in the sixty-third year of its successful labors, a living power, and a great Christianizing and emigrating agency. Sir, your Society has solved every problem of African colonization. You have been performing a work as providential as any that goes to make up the wonderful movements in the onward progress of the Negro problem. Liberia, with its healthy, prosperous, useful population, many of whom were once slaves in this country, is your answer to all fault-finders, critics, and calumniators, as it is an imperishable monument to the wisdom of your founders and the fidelity, zeal, and perseverance of their successors in the laborious offices of your Society.

Sir, I regard the discoveries in Africa, the emancipated Negro, and the American Colonization Society, with its experience and achievements of sixty-three years, as the peerless triumvirate of the nineteenth century. Your Society is nearly twice as old as the American Missionary Societies for Africa, but, truth to say, is itself a missionary society, and the parent of a large progeny of African church missions.

Mr. President, it seems to me that your Society has just reached the period in its growth and strength when its principal work is to commence ; and what a work !

African explorers have laid a continent at your feet with a population of more than 200,000,000 of souls. It possesses untold resources in dye-woods, cotton, sugar, coffee, corn, rice, ginger, indigo, tobacco, copper, gold, silver, iron, coal, diamonds, ivory, gums, and birds and beasts, which in all past time have possessed great commercial value. Her rivers are large, deep, and navigable for great distances, and the Nile, Congo, Niger, and Zambesi are now ready to bear the commerce of any people bold enough and enterprising enough to accept the boundless treasure. Soils the richest and most productive in the world lie by millions of square miles in their virgin state. No plow has disturbed the slumber of its valleys and plains since the morning stars sang together over the birth of the world. That vast bonanza of continental wealth is to be developed and utilized, and its myriads of untaught and benighted peoples are to be Christianized and taught the arts, sciences, and literature of which they are capable, and a new world is to be harnessed to the sisterhood of great nationalities—as if the lost Pleiad had at last returned from banishment and exile to the bosom and home of the rejoicing family. Every day new stores of information will be flashed over the cable and out of the morning journals of the hitherto unheard of findings and progress of explorers, and we may look for wonders still greater than any that have heretofore astonished us. Commercial claims will force on us the study of the physical geography of that land, and from new tribes and unknown kings we may soon receive solicitations for teachers and missionaries, as King Mtsei desired Stanley to call for teachers of the true religion for his people.

Sir, thus far Liberia has done nobly. But it may be the dictate of wisdom to plant another and an interior colony on the Congo, or on the Niger. The place will soon speak for itself, if the measure shall be deemed advisable. Obtain an expanded, well-watered territory, as large as Texas, if need be ; let it be in a healthy country, with ready access by steamers, favorable for the culture of the soil and commercial intercourse with the natives ; let a great city be laid off for the capital ; give farms and implements of husbandry, as far as practicable, to farmers, and town-lots to mechanics, teachers, and diligent families who can

take care of themselves in the city; make it the Jerusalem of missions, the domicile of their Boards of management, and banks for the deposit of their funds, and the point of departure for their steamers, and the center of their railroad system. In the sure day that may come sooner than we think, New Orleans may see her rival in commercial opulence near the mouth of one of these great African rivers; Chicago see her peer lift the monuments of commercial splendor on the shores of one of those mighty lakes of recent discovery; while, like a new St. Louis, the capital of the new-born nation shall sit as a queen and rule over a regenerated republic of the Africans, for the Africans, by the Africans. Establish schools, colleges, universities, and open the way for the education of the natives and the renovation of the race. Abolish the polyglottal gibberish in which the natives babble, and fasten the English language to their lips. With few exceptions, these languages hoard no learning, and are almost as grammarless as the vernacular of the parrot.

Unless the forty new institutions of learning recently established in the South for the education of the colored people have Africa clearly in view as an ultimate end, they will prove of comparatively little value to the race, as such.

To merely turn out hundreds of educated colored men and women to float at large over the South, with Homer in one pocket and a shoe-brush in the other, or with Euclid in one hand and a coach-whip or a table-napkin in the other, is to minimize the whole scheme of Negro education and open the way to make the condition of real culture worse than the days of bondage.

We have already met several cases of young colored men on whose education fond and hopeful parents had bestowed many a hard-earned dollar, saved in bitter self-denial and sore privations to pay for grammars and dictionaries for Virgil and Horace and Euclid, who, after all, were like a man I knew who built a mill upon the banks of a stream that strangely dried up before a wheel was ever turned.

Open a continent to the capacities, ambition, and learning of the young men who want to be useful and lay a permanent foundation for the prosperity of their race, and centuries will be required in which to compute the beneficent results of their labor.

Africa, the Rachel of nations, has long mourned the robbery and enslavement of her offspring. Let her not forever weep.

They are not slain. She shall see them again. And she shall be comforted and compensated by the physical, mental, and moral improvement their American school, in two hundred years, has conferred upon them. For they will return with abilities never heretofore possible of attainment on the dark continent. They will return to the land of their sires not as superstitious, benighted barbarians; nor will they go pent and packed up in slave-ships as sardines, or in chains as culprits guilty of the crime of having been born, with a price fixed upon their heads, and terrorized by heartless piratical brokers in human flesh who will regard them as a mere legal tender. No: they will return with stalwart physical forms, manly vigor—womanly culture, refinement, and piety. They will carry a higher type of intelligence and a wider range of powers than were ever dreamed of by their most enlightened ancestral seers: a knowledge of science, agriculture, mechanism, law, medicine, and divinity. They will go back with the Bible, the Hymn-book, the Prayer-book—with the Church and its holy sacraments—the holy Sabbath with its inspiring sanctities—with the knowledge of the one true God, and Jesus Christ the adorable Saviour. And in their new home, amidst its fragrant bowers, or in the temples reared for worship, Heaven will bow His ear to hear their prayers and the forests shall vibrate with their songs. They will build the school-house, the college, the university: they will issue periodicals from their own presses, cloth from their own looms, machinery from their own manufactories, shoes from their own shops, coin from their own mints, cargoes of merchandise from their own wharves, justice from their own courts, and laws from their own Congress.

St. Paul says of the casting away of Israel, that its result was the reconciling of the world: and if so, then "what shall the receiving of them be *but life from the dead?*" And if casting out from his native home of the enslaved and powerless African has been the enrichment of the world, what shall his restoration be but *life from the dead, and life for the dead?* "For the Lord shall comfort his people: He will comfort all her waste places, and He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord: joy and gladness shall be found therein: thanksgiving and the voice of melody." Yea: "The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose:" "for in the wilderness shall waters

break out, and streams in the desert," and "the parched land shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water;" and "the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

If, then, it is the purpose of God that the colored people of this continent shall become the great civilizers, apostles, and teachers of the millions of their ancestral home, who call to them in the beseeching accents of the Macedonian necessity, is it not plainly our duty to facilitate their endeavor and bid them God-speed? If they believe they can improve their condition by emigration, let us put no obstruction in their paths. If enticed to an uncongenial clime, and for purely political ends, we may discourage and counsel them against the fearful horrors that await them. The West in rags and midwinter is murder, and thousands must perish who try it. Birds that migrate without a leader, and before the normal season, generally fall a prey to nets, and snares, and shot.

The colored man deserves well of the South. She has done and is doing her best for him. Better she never will—she never can do. If, then, he resolves to depart, he must not only depart in peace, but go—not to frozen zones, not to a repelling population—not to a remote place of mere ballot-boxes, "foot-ball" manipulators, and the bed and board of the Prodigal Son—not to regions where, like a horse-block, he may help every adventurer to mount to the saddle, but never be permitted to mount himself. Rather let us "show unto them a more excellent way." Let us see to it, if they will depart, "that as far as in us is" we will assist them to find and settle in "a land flowing with milk and honey," where they will become the princes among their peoples, stand up as the peers of the most exalted, and lay the foundations for a continent to build upon for ages and generations to come. How grand a mission!

Finally, sir, there remain certain things we may aim to accomplish. It may take years, but "THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY" never dies. Among these—pardon my temerity—are:

1. The correction of the false impressions existing respecting the aims and purposes of your Society. A new generation has come up since the chief men of the South, in church and State, were its advocates, supporters, and officers. .

2. Re-enlist the chief clergymen of all denominations, with the

colored bishops and teachers, in the work of directing those who desire to emigrate from the South to the superior advantages of Africa.

3. Let as many colored people as desire become members of branch organizations, and thus enter upon a calm, rational study of the philosophy of emigration. It would prevent rash movements, lead to economy, and open a future at least for their children.

4. At a suitable time application must be made to Congress for assistance in removing families to Africa. What is the government going to do with 65,000,000 of dollars taken from the planters in the darkest hour of destitution and trouble by the clearest violation of the Constitution? It is known as the cotton tax. A handsome proportion of that great sum was collected from some millions of bales of the last cotton that was made by slave labor. Perhaps one-third of it could and should—but never will—be returned to the proper parties. It is safe to say that two-thirds of it will never go out of the Treasury—if one dollar ever does—as a restored collection. Huge obstacles stand in the way. I am annoyed ; for I am a loser. But may not some compromise be agreed upon and the proper thing done, if the Negro wants to leave, that he may go under cheering auspices?

5. Should public-spirited and liberal citizens favor a new colony in the interior, let it be encouraged. It may rejuvenate and inspire the feeble energies of many warm friends who need to be lifted out of worn grooves into new, fresh, and energetic measures. Liberia would profit by it.

6. It has long been a felt want for direct shipping to the western coast of Africa from our own ports. American competition in the English markets, under the very shadow of the British Parliament, led an English statesman to say, recently, that Africa was a new market and would take all her surplus goods. Very well. American enterprise will carry goods from New York to Zanzibar and to Timbuctoo, and must do it. Then a cheaper and more direct passage will aid in the work of emigration.

7. In order to prepare young colored people for successful colonization, every possible branch of labor, trades of every sort, and the arts necessary to the building of comfortable communities and families, should be taught in all the colored schools, if practicable.

Sir, doubtless all these matters have been revolved over and again

in the discussions of this Society, but, as I said, they have been lost sight of with the passing away of the giants who once stood up all over the South like colonnades of Corinthian pillars, at once the support and the ornament of our commonwealths.

No doubt opposition to the views I have uttered will be manifested. Not, however, by those who comprehend the necessities, the perils, and the fortunes of the fast-coming future. Nor will great numbers of colored people at once give up the false views they have long entertained. But a better day will come, and intelligent colored people will heed the signal of the divine hand. Africa shall be made new by the restoration of her banished sons.

And every breeze that blows shall waft
Her long-lost wanderers home.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

President.

1853. HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

Vice Presidents.

- | | |
|---|---|
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| 1869. Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D. D., N. Y. | 1880. Rev. S. D. Alexander, D. D., N. Y. |

The figures before each name indicate the year of first election.

American Colonization Society.

Colonization Building, 450 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

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Secretary and Treasurer—WILLIAM COPPINGER, Esq.

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FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY the sum of — dollars.

(If the bequest is of personal or real estate, so describe it that it can easily be identified.)

EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA.

So numerous have the applications become, that THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY will hereafter give the preference, all other things being equal, to those who will pay a part or the whole of the cost of their passage and settlement in Liberia. Persons wishing to remove to that Republic should make application, giving their name, age, and circumstances, addressed to WILLIAM COPPINGER, Secretary and Treasurer, Colonization Rooms, Washington, D. C.

EDUCATION IN LIBERIA.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY is ready to receive, invest, and set apart, for the promotion of common-school education in Liberia, all such sum or sums of money as may be given or bequeathed to it for that purpose.

Funds for LIBERIA COLLEGE may be remitted to CHARLES E. STEVENS, Esq., Treasurer, No. 40 State street, Boston. The best form of donations and bequests is "THE TRUSTEES OF DONATIONS FOR EDUCATION IN LIBERIA."

The United States Government, the Founder
and Necessary Patron of the
Liberian Republic.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

American Colonization Society,

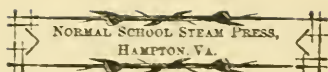
JANUARY 18, 1881,

BY

GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,
1881,



ADDRESS.

When intelligent business men are seen to be directing their capital into some new field of enterprise, they are supposed to have reasons justifying their investment. When leading nations are observed to be conspiring in making government appropriations for the common attainment of a like end, it is justly inferred that some adequate motive controls their policy. So, too, the principles of natural religion, the convictions of all men, lead to the necessary conclusion, that, the Divine Author of all, rules alike the material Universe and the families of mankind in their intercourse with each other for the accomplishment of His own wise and kind purposes.

The fact that no less than nine leading powers of Europe,—England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Russia,—have been engaged the past year in African explorations, certainly indicates a common and an important end which those nations, leading in modern civilization, are seeking to attain. The summary, so concisely and clearly presented in a recent publication of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, aids the ordinary observer of foreign affairs to analyze and group the reasons that have led to this converging of interests on the Continent of Africa.

There are three classes of corporate bodies that are providing the money appropriations which sustain and promote these explorations; the two former of which have been sustained by Government action. First in natural order are commercial companies; since it is through commerce that the shores and ports of foreign lands are made known, and because the want of products, for the bodily welfare of advanced nations is the first to prompt enterprise. Second in order come scientific associations, including geographical and archæological societies, whose explorations have the double end of opening roads to commerce and of amassing knowledge, interesting or profitable to men as intellectual beings. Third in the list appear religious societies; including educational and missionary organizations.

This grouping of organizations that have been penetrating the continent of Africa on all sides for years, and that have displayed special completeness and activity during the past year, naturally suggests inquiry as to the originating spring, the fundamental source, and especially the harmonizing and all-controlling influence in human nature, which prompts the united action of these classes of associations and the favoring co-operation of the nine governments of Europe which have

sustained the two former in their work. Without doubt it is to be found in the principles brought out by such masterly works on the philosophy of history as Guizot's *Progress of Civilization in Europe*. There are, as Guizot shows, two elements that constitute and that advance human civilization, the material and the moral. The material interests and the physical impulses of men prompt them to the supply of animal wants by the accumulation of wealth and through that of all the conveniences and comforts of bodily life. The moral interests and the mental impulses prompt to the accumulation of knowledge as to all the social and religious relations of mankind and to the supply provided in the teachings of nature and of revelation which meets those wants. In this analysis the great statesman, Guizot, accepts all of truth brought out by such minds as Buckle, Comte and Spencer; who in their seclusion see clearly what men *ought* to be in their relations to the world and to each other; and what they *would* be provided they partook only of the nature of mere animals or of pure angels. But the practical man of affairs, mingling with men in their social, political and religious relations, finds that men partake of both the animal and the angelic natures; that these two natures, which "war within us," and which lead to "wars and fightings among men," must be harmonized; otherwise neither the passive quiet of herded animals nor the active peace of banded angels, will be found in human families, communities and nations. Going farther, with the fearful experience of communistic anarchy fresh and frequent before his own eyes, Guizot saw, as also English and American statesmen have seen, that men need, not simple accumulation of wealth, but the guarantee in man's improved moral instruction, moral training and religious enlightenment, that the accumulation of individual wealth and of national treasures in art, in science and in all the appliances of human advancement, will not in the frenzy of a day be plundered or destroyed. It is this ruling necessity which in the explorations of the past year on the continent of Africa, has caused commerce, science and religion to go hand in hand. It seems to be timely to review, at this sixty-fourth anniversary of the American Colonization Society, the necessary union of Governmental and Associational co-operation in repaying our National debt to Africa.

The consideration of this topic requires a brief review of the assumed relation through the mother country of the American Colonies, and then of the independent United States of America, to the people of Africa.

As Bancroft has clearly shown the Government and people of Great Britain, more truly than of Spain, sought two ends in bringing African slaves into this country. As Governor Brown, of Georgia, has just repeated in the United States Senate, the people of Georgia, who at first resisted the attempts to introduce African slaves into that colony, yield-

ed at last because of the conviction, urged by such men as George Whitefield, that the only apparent means of enlightening and Christianizing the people of Africa, who in their native land were warring against and enslaving each other, was to receive and educate them as laborers on the rich lands of the South. At the same time, Jonathan Edwards, whose sincerity none will doubt, urged the same idea, and as a motive to Christian fidelity in evangelizing the colored people in New England.

When the colonial times had passed a new relation was assumed by the state and national governments to the colored people. New England, provided with laborers from the old world and moved by convictions of moral duty, freed her slaves; some of whose descendants yet linger in her large towns. The duty, however, of educating and Christianizing, and if dependent, of providing homes and food for these freedmen, remained, and was met by state legislation. The Southern States, differently situated, retained their colored people in servitude; often indeed making provision for emancipation by individuals, as well as for the care of freed people; and, above all, through the fidelity of Christian laborers winning to a sincere Christian faith a larger proportion of the colored people than has ever before been found among any people in any age.

At the same time the national as well as state governments, recognized and assumed a new relation to the colored people. The provision of the U. S. Constitution limiting the importation of slaves to twenty-one years, was not only an assumed relation, but it implied and compelled another assumed duty when the twenty-one years had expired. The anxious thought and effort of the successive Presidents, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, to provide a fit asylum for slaves brought to American ports after the year when the importation was to cease, not only suggested, but, after various expedients compelled the naval expeditions repeatedly sent, first to explore, then to colonize and then to protect the colonists on the shore of Africa.

Another new relation was assumed, when, after years of ineffectual efforts in co-operation with Great Britain to arrest slave-ships by means of national cruisers on the African coast, the American cruisers were directed to act on the American shore of the Atlantic, while the British cruisers acted on the African Coast. Then, since the naval vessels were no longer detailed for the long voyage, the American Colonization Society was made the agent of the United States government in sending the recaptured slaves to Liberia and in providing a safe asylum and a school for independence on the coast of their native Continent. Then amid all the countless influences which agitated the people both North and South as disunion threatened, the voice of the public conscience, prompting to assumed duty, was triumphant in Congress, while it was

specially deep and earnest in the executive. No American can so realize this as did the two men called to meet frequently the two Christian statesmen, the Secretaries of State and of the Navy, whose duty it was to provide for the necessity laid upon the United States Government. It is enough to state the fact, that, under the two administrations responsible for the integrity of national policy from March 4th, 1853, to March 4th, 1861, the slave trade to all North American ports, the West India Islands included, was completely broken up and all the captured people were colonized by Government appropriations in Liberia.

Yet a new relation was assumed when the war for the union brought Southern slaves within the lines of the Union armies. The duty of providing for them was such, that, promptly on the appeal of President Lincoln, Congress made an appropriation for the foreign colonization of the people desiring such provision. When the scheme of colonization first in Central America, then in the Danish West Indies, had been frustrated, no one but those called to the interview, can ever appreciate the intense anxiety shown by President Lincoln; personally sending for, and conversing two hours with the sub-committee of the Executive Committee of this Society; sending at their suggestion an intelligent colored clergyman as their representative to visit Liberia and report to the clustering crowds of his people gathered at the national Capital. The rush of events during the delay, the decision of the War Department to employ colored troops, and the idea that lands and other provisions at home would be granted to the emancipated people, arrested this stage of Government provision for colonists to the African Republic.

Yet another new stage of Government duty had now arrived; before entering upon whose consideration, since it is the present demand, this fact should be distinctly recalled. In every stage of the relations assumed between this country and its people, towards Africa and her people, the two elements above considered, that constitute civilization and that impose consequent national duty, have been found acting in co-operation; the material without question too often dominant; but the moral silently but surely asserting ultimate supremacy over the Christian people who settled the American continent, and over their descendants of each succeeding generation. Certainly no one will question the essential fact at issue, that since the origin of the United States Government, the moral has steadily gained sway over the material in the motives controlling the policy of the United States people and its representatives in their relation to the colored people. This certainly was the case when by provision of the Constitution, for material considerations, the importation of slaves was permitted during twenty-one years; while in the same Constitution, the *moral* consideration was declared to be ruling *after* that period. This certainly was the case when, though at the planting of the first colony of Liberia material consider-

ations might have influenced some who desired the removal of free colored people, the highest moral convictions ruled the statesmen and philanthropists who wished to provide a safe home for captured slaves, and a Christian Republic, on the dark continent. Surely, too, religious duty led to the supply of most of the colonists, when Christian owners sacrificed thousands of dollars in giving, first freedom, and then ample provision in their freedom, to their most advanced and valuable servants, who went joyfully to their new home. This, yet again, was the case when the measures were inaugurated which broke up the slave trade, and threw on the hands of the United States Government hundreds of captured slaves to be provided for in Africa; for, though material interests can, in almost any act of men and of nations, be supposed to enter into human counsels, such suggestions at this stage of African Colonization are certainly overshadowed by a nobler impulse.

Coming then to the last stage the study of human impulses should be impartially weighed, that decision may be just and duty clear. In his interview with the Committee of the American Colonization Society, asked by President Lincoln, he did drop expressions like this: "I must get rid somehow of this burden of care for the colored people; which may prove, among other weights, the last pound to break the camel's back." But such utterances were momentary ebullitions. The deep, pervading, controlling utterances were like these; "I must do right by these people. I am not sure that I have authority to assume that they are free; and that I shall not be called to account for sending them out of the country. But, I must do the best for them under the circumstances; and I will run the risk of sending them to Africa if they care to go."

As mentioned, however, the delay necessary to make the requisite arrangements, the sending of an agent to explore and bring back his report to the people, the rush of events, the need of immediate provision for the increasing crowds of refugees who had come within the lines, and the policy of the Secretary of War, as well as the hopes that the employ of colored troops inspired as to future Government provision, delayed African Colonization; until a new phase of assumed duty revived the demand.

The impoverished condition of the border Slave States, the destruction and waste of farming implements during the years of war, yet more the exhausted soil, made the necessity of transferring colored laborers to the richer lands of the South, as well as of partial provision for them in their field of labor; and this transfer and provision through the Freedman's Bureau became a Government duty and charge. Accompanying this transfer, disappointment and dissatisfaction in the minds of some of the dependent people naturally arose; then came, afresh, thoughts of Africa as a home that had a future of promise; and this

time for the first, it was the thought, the aspiration and the request of the colored people themselves. Just at this juncture, the experienced and honored Secretary, Rev. R. R. Gurley, finished his course; and by the desire and direction of the Executive Committee, the single individual who for years had been Mr. Gurley's associate in such calls was desired to see the men most likely to take a just view of the demand. President Lincoln was no more; and two intimate personal friends were, therefore, sought; Maj. General Howard, at the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Senator W. P. Fessenden, of Maine, whose declining health, had compelled him to resign the post of Secretary of the Treasury, and who was then Chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate. Both urged that the presence of the colored people was needed as a material force in promoting the labor required in the South, and yet more as a moral element, aiding as voters to secure the protection of their associates in the Southern States and their advancement in social relations. The force and justice of these ends suggested, was allowed; but the counter truth was urged that those who wished to go to Liberia were entitled to seek their individual interests as truly as white citizens, and that to deny this would be to perpetuate the subordination of the interests of the colored people to the interests of the white race. The justice of the plea was allowed. Through General Howard the cost of transport as far as Charleston or Norfolk to emigrants for Africa was granted. Senator Fessenden promised to urge in the Finance Committee of the Senate that the same appropriation be made for freed people wishing to emigrate to Africa, which had in years past been made for slaves captured on the ocean. The untimely death of Senator Fessenden prevented the realization of his design.

During the past year, in the mission of Commodore Shufeldt, the United States Government has again recognized the debt of the American people to the Liberian Republic. It is a debt, with its correspondent responsibilities, both to the American colored people and to the land robbed, since their ancestors were brought hither, of its legitimate population; yet a debt, which, as Jefferson, Madison and Clay all agreed in stating, can be amply repaid provided the people and Government of the United States return to Africa, in place of uncultured and heathen barbarians, a cultivated and Christian people capable of maintaining an independent and growing civilization on the continent of Africa. Whether this can be realized, whether the facts of past history assure this realization, is the vital practical question, worthy our final consideration. For, if this *cannot* be realized, the duty of the American people is doubtful; whereas, if it *can* be realized no shadow of a doubt can be allowed to excuse the neglect of paying our debt.

Here it is of vital importance to notice that England and America, equally implicated in bringing the sons of Africa to our shores, and

equally indebted to Africa, have from the first been true representatives of two lines of policy pursued towards the African people in all past ages, and now legitimate in these two distinct nations. England, whose increasing and ever advancing people, pent up in a little island, must seek foreign territory in fulfilling the double duty of self-development and of extending civilization, has in both Asia and Africa, since the loss of her chief American colonies, been steadily seeking territorial occupation; and of course in establishing imperial rule, in both Asia and Africa. The history of her occupation of African territory began, when during the war of American Independence, slaves came within the lines of her armies just as they came within the lines of the Union army during our late war. As a necessity imposed upon them the British Government provided the colored refugees, first, a temporary home in Canada; and then, afterwards, at great cost,—an expense perpetuated to this day,—they were furnished a permanent home at Sierra Leone; a projecting Western Cape of Africa, which became a depot in the line of England's then increasing India trade. Since that day, points of permanent territorial occupation have been sought; first at the Southern Cape of Africa; then at Natal on its eastern coast; then at Lagos commanding the mouth of the Niger, South of the Great Western desert; to which have succeeded a temporary military expedition into Christian Abyssinia, and permanent commercial establishments in the heathen and Mohammedan sections of the Continent. No impartial observer, however,—no honest critic, even, can fail to see and to say that in this occupation, British Christian blessings to the African people have gone hand in hand with British monopoly of African commerce. For exploration she has both wisely and humely employed such men as Livingstone, the Christian missionary; whose mantle fell even upon the young American Stanley with such grace that the Christian conversion of the African Emperor Mtesa became as truly a part of his mission as the opening of a new field for British trade.

This is *England's* chosen and legitimate policy of promoting civilization in Africa. But, America has another mission; approved alike by the reasoning of her men of science and by the deductions from history which will rule American statesmen. In the winter of 1860 '61, Guyot the Christian scientist, the peer of Agassiz in comprehensive observation and careful analysis, in a course of Lectures at the Smithsonian Institution, brought out the fact that in the Divine design, the three families are three types of human development of mankind, whose history has been alike traced by Moses, Herodotus, Diodorus and Bunsen. These three families are permanent types of bouyant and sincere childhood, of the imaginative and self-sufficient spirit of youth, and of the advanced and advancing thirst for science and philosophy peculiar to mature age. The first family is the Hamitic of Africa; cheerful,

docile, fond of physical employ; simple in its unelaborated language, and isolated except when forced from their home. The second is the Semitic or Asiatic; imaginative, poetic and self-satisfied; with language half-elaborated; arbitrary in rule over inferior tribes, yet overshadowing only those simpler people naturally brought under its shade by its own branching, which extends its spread. The third is the Japhetic or European; never satisfied with the highest attainments in *individual* progress; and ever aspiring for more extended rule over less developed tribes.

In Africa, the home of the first race, the modern British policy was witnessed from time immemorial in Egypt and Carthage on the North; a precedent too often quoted as if it were the only guide in African development. In Egypt foreign kings, as Herodotus records, ruled from the days of Menes, two centuries before Abraham's day; it was into this family Joseph married, and it was under their tuition that Moses became learned in all the wisdom of Egypt. At Carthage, Phenician science and letters were ruling before Eneas, the fugitive Trojan, visited its shore; while Greek colonies ruled in Cyrene before Homer wrote. At the same time, however, in Central Africa, in ancient Ethiopia, now modern Abyssinia, a pure type of the darkest colored African race threatened Egypt in Moses' day; Moses, as Josephus records, led an Egyptian army thither, justifying Luke's record that he was "mighty in deeds" as well as "in words;" and in his exile the Hebrew law-giver married an Ethiopian wife, to whom he proved faithful in his exaltation, though opposed by family pride. As permanent witness to the association of Moses in On with both these superior and inferior races is the fact, that one-tenth of the words of Moses' records are Sanscrit and one-fifteenth are Ethiopic. Shortly after the Hebrews left Egypt under Moses, as Bunsen has shown, Ethiopian kings invaded, and for centuries held, upper Egypt, with its grandest city Thebes. In the culminating spread of the Hebrew power under David, the royal poet and prophet wrote: "Ethiopia shall *soon* stretch out her hands unto God." That promise of early conversion to the faith of the Old Testament was in the reign of Solomon, and through his commerce, realized; illustrating the fact recorded by Luke the historian of Christ and His apostles, that the treasurer of the Queen of Ethiopia was reading the prophet Isaiah, while making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as a proselyte to the Jewish faith. Returning home as a Christian convert, as Bishop Gobat has shown, an independent African power has maintained an independent and high character to this day, resisting the assaults of all foreign powers, and holding fast the Christian faith amid heathenism, untempted by the professedly new supplements to Christianity claimed to have been made by Mohammed. Even when England, in 1868, invaded this African nation, the proud monarch, boasting his descent from the Queen of Sheba,

whose realm was separated from Ethiopia by only the narrow strait of Bab-el-mandeb, claiming also descent from Solomon through this Queen as one among his thousand wives—this proud and consciously superior African prince proposed an alliance with England by offering to take its widowed sovereign as one of his wives.

With this perpetuated example of the true African's capacity for independent government before them, it was not surprising that at a very early day in the history of the colony at Liberia, the nation, whose ancestors for a century and a half had been ruled by their mother country as dependent colonists, should have entrusted the colored people themselves with the management of their own executive, legislative and judicial affairs. It is confirmatory of this wisdom in the past, that for half a century the U. S. Government has interposed in the affairs of the Liberian Republic, only when, as during the last year, their good offices in aiding the settlement of a territorial question as to boundary, was invited; a question to whose settlement our people are committed because theirs was the original purchase. When now that Republic is asking for emigrants from our shores to increase their population, and when, too, the Colonization Society is specially careful to select the men and the families best fitted in every respect to become useful citizens of the Republic of Liberia, no wonder that the intelligent men, who must act in meeting our national responsibility, declare with assurance that the future stability and success of the Colony is assured. One fact especially, no lover of his country north or south can forget, as a testimony to the moral control exhibited by the colored people of the South at home; which cannot prove deceptive as to their future in Africa. When in the progress of the late war for the Union, four millions of people were assured that emancipation would be their boon if the war finally turned against their masters, not a single instance of insurrection during the four long years of conflict occurred. Without any question it was an all-controlling religious sentiment that lay at the foundation of this anomaly in history. When the remarkable fact is taken into account that 450,000, or about one-eighth of the 4,000,000 of colored people in our Southern States, are communicants in the Christian Churches of a single denomination, that about 220,000, or an added half-eighth are united to a single other denomination—so that without doubt nearly one half of the entire adult population are followers of the Prince of Peace—not only does this fact explain the past as to the order and stability of the Liberian Republic and as to their years of faithful, loyal service in our States, but it is a prophetic voice giving assurance that, through them as colonists, all Africa will become civilized and Christianized.

. In a brief but suggestive address following a lecture on the Irish and their promise, by Rev. G. W. Hepworth, delivered a few evenings since, in New York, ex-Governor Hoffman, whose political course is

known, uttered words to this effect: that "God had disappointed the politicians of all schools in our country; and the same might prove true in Great Britain." That was a pregnant truth. The Irish people never can be independent of their union to Great Britain; they may nevertheless, yet be *reconciled* to that union; but in the future, as in the past, without question, the laboring people who aspire to a future of promise for themselves and their children, will seek it by emigration. So in our Union, no state or section will ever be independent of their sister states; that Union both for white and colored citizens, may and will become more universally satisfactory; but the colored people in our country will always be dependent on superior capital and culture, and the more intelligent and aspiring will seek a home where competition will not always keep them behind in the individual struggle for social preferment.

We end, therefore, as we began. Men of business and nations will have their plans for Africa and its people. But the Lord of all mankind, the God of nations, has also *His* plans; and those plans will prevail.

“The Hour for Africa.”

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

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BY

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ADDRESS.

Things sound as if the morning hour for Africa must have struck. The last of the six continents to claim the attention of the world, who can be sure she may not yet, as the last child of Jesse, be appointed by Providence to a place of principal eminence? Her calling is at a propitious period of human history. Though denominated the dark continent, her set time strikes in the high day of universal light, when the prophecy is being fulfilled: "the darkness shall flee away." Other continents have been carved and shaped into the similitudes of palaces for the people with clumsy and cruel weapons of civilization: with dull and inadequate agencies for education and under bigoted and blundering leadership in religion.

Would the governments of Darius and Alexander have perished if knowledge had been diffused so that politics had been understood by the people as well as by the archon; and religion by the worshipper as well as by the priest?

Might not Rome have still been stable on her seven hills of Empire, had she but felt the thrill of disenthraling individualism, which came forth in convulsions at the close of the eighteenth century, but is the normal life of the nineteenth?

Do the agonizing nations of Northern Europe now indicate anything more clearly than this, that our era means to end its work by cutting the cinch from the fetter, and flinging into the black abyss of the forever the last shackle of human bondage? Because the world moves, mankind has come much nearer than ever to know how deep were the words of the Lord: "The son of man came to seek and save that which was lost." Naturalism provides a physician for the whole; Biblical civilization, for them that are sick.

Old times and nations did not imitate your parental care and provide first for the impotent, ignorant and poor. They debated and declared the divine right of Kings; the lofty claims of feudal lords; and the inherent eminence assured by color of blood, independent of character. Ancestral times were reluctant to learn that a State cannot imitate an acrobat and stand upon its head. Later times have learned it. And now, whither have the absolute monarchies of earth departed? How limited are the limits of monarchies that yet remain? And how their constantly shrinking prerogatives remind us of the cage of story. Built so that the turn of crank each morning made its sides close and shut out ray after ray of day, until at last the inmate, was crushed by its iron embrace. And he who designed and built it suffered death by it. So those old Constitutions and States, which potentates composed

to press the life out of the common people, for the pleasure and profit of fortune's favorites, are closing on their builders, as the shrinking cage; until there is hardly a royal house that does not suffer a continual ache of apprehension for the future of crowned heads. Up to this propitious present where will we find a continent or country whose beginnings of civilization were not hampered by the restrictions of popular rights? This accounts for empires perishing, and for the slow progress made by such as survive.

Consider the condition of England at the hour of the Norman conquest, and compare her with Great Britain now; and how very slowly she has moved during those eight centuries! England would not have been so long in rising from the bogs and barbarism of her beginning to become, as she is, the first of Christian Kingdoms, if Alfred the Great had begun his work at the same time that you planted a Colony on the shores of Africa!

But three and three quarter centuries have a little more than elapsed since white men commenced to fashion our national fabric from the American forests. Only two hundred and sixty Decembers have sheeted Plymouth Rock with ice since the pious and intrepid Puritans sowed the seeds of republican liberty along the New England coast. But a hundred and four times, the fourth of July's rejoicings have reverberated over our heads as an independent people. For ninety and two years only we have slept under the canopy of a national Constitution. And behold how much further we have advanced in less than four centuries, than England did in six.

And yet our beginnings were under heavy disabilities. What sluggish shipp's ailed the seas? What tardy communications circulated ideas? What loitering messengers imparted intelligence? How narrow were the notions of natural laws! How dull was the appetite for progress in art! Science was an embryo. Religion largely a superstition. Commerce a name. Civilization rude. Culture crude. International comity unknown. China was a scaled munition; Japan a myth; England an enemy and all Europe a fiercely contested battlefield. Therefore, there is no other ground of national boasting so broad and safe as this; that we have done as well as we have, considering the hindrances at the outset.

During these dolorous ages Africa, as a diamond in the mine, has been hid in the dark waiting for the digger, the lapidary and the day when she may dazzle and decorate the world. Her time arrives when the noise of war is scarcely heard under the sun; when Kings and Captains have loosed their clutch of spears and swords to take up plows and pens; when for Councils of War we select Commissions of arbitration; when the haughtiest power cannot abuse its subjects, any more than a heartless driver can the dumb brute, without having such protests and penalties imposed as Austria and Turkey have recently heard and heeded. The hour for Africa is when nations are not clamorous for territorial

conquest, but rich enough to offer unlimited wealth for investment and for her development: and religious enough to give aid to those who will carry her the best schools and the most Bibles; build the fewest confessionals; bind her conscience the least and exalt her social life the most.

When the plans and impulses of Providence prompted the opening of North America—except a few scattered fishermen who came down from the north not to stay—there were but two great nations that could take time from war at home to man expeditions and plant colonies in this new country. To day the entire world nearly looks through the open gates of Janus in the only one direction that remains to invite the explorer; and is eager to follow him. Ships have been stripped of lazy sail and filled with impatient steam. Monrovia is nearer New York than Pittsburg was when your Society elected its first President. At thirty or forty different points ambitious parties are seeking entrance to the unknown secrets of Africa; and may be we will hold our breath when they bring back full reports, by and by. They are clothed with peace; weaponed with implements of the best civilization; aflame with the loftiest aspiration and devoted to the extension of that religion which, alone has a heaven-born right to reign. Theodolites and spades are ready to alter footpaths into railroads, on which engines will ultimately each drag hundreds of tons where but a few stone-weight have been loaded on brutes and slaves' backs from the beginning. The desert of Sahara, from side to side, is soon to be seeded with the roses of industry which railroads are sure to sow. And the Niger is to cradle keels that will carry some such promise and potency for the Western side of the Continent, as the Nile did for the little nook of Egypt when it bore Moses in the basket of bulrushes.

For this, prosperous France appropriates this year six millions of francs. Germany unites the purse of her Parliament with the resources of her geographical societies, and commissions six expeditions to go and see this thing which has come to pass, and bring her word again. Though trembling under the burdens of taxation and weary with scheming, to sustain her standing as a solvent nation, Italy is unable to hold off her hands from knocking for admission to Africa. Spain, never indifferent to her neighbor beyond the narrows of Gibraltar, now wakes to unwonted energy; and enters eagerly into the competition with others, if haply she may on the eastern side sieze the pearl of great price. Of all names that are taken up tenderly in our times none receives more reverent regard than that of David Livingstone; the factory boy of Blantyre, who became for ever illustrious by hiding himself in the bosom of the dark continent—as a lamp in a lantern—thereby becoming its light, and as well making it luminous to all who look at it.

The intrepid Stanley is as renowned as was a great warrior of old; simply because he has carried the torch of a Christian civilization, and the letters which spell liberty further than any white man into the interior and up to Mtesa's Court! Surely things sound as if the morning hour for

Africa has struck.

In this consort of nations, closing round her coasts,—their minds on her mines of precious ores; eyes on her elephants and ivory; snuffing her spice groves and peering into the mouths of her waters to see where her rivers of palm oil rise, what attitude and anxiety best becomes us as a nation? Not the same as is seemly for others. No other nation has, as we have, crushed and milled her sons into riches, as the canes of the sugar fields are worked. No other nation has been so ignorant and rapacious as ours in robbing this subject race of its blood, and rolling it up as the make weight of cotton bales, and chiefest wealth and sign of boasted social supremacy of the proudest section of the body politic. Therefore, by no rule of righteousness can we seek first the prizes of commerce which rightfully allure other lands. Or if we do, and do obtain them, I fear the curse of ill-gotten gain will accumulate as between us and these our ebony brothers of one blood.

It is time for us to begin to serve Africa; to redress unutterable wrongs by "works meet for repentance." The eternal throne of justice may express its full satisfaction with African slave-holding America when we do more than God's compulsory Providence in war compelled us to do—cut the shackle and set the black man free. When we do more than put into the hands of benighted ignorance a ballot, to make the black man a voter in form, but a victim of all political villainy in fact. When we do even more than open public schools and university courses for his education.

Story books, that we read in boyhood, had thrilling tales of Indians stealing children from families of white people on the frontier. The agonies of parental sufferings! how vividly they are painted! The perils of the pure maiden as a prisoner in the wigwam of wicked men; and the months and years of anguish that intervene before word is brought home how the lost child is, we can easily recall! Suppose it were our child, and all we heard was that her captors had cut the cords from her wrists; had agreed not to degrade her character any deeper by unspeakable lawlessness; and had opened a school in which her offspring of shame might see what they could do to recover themselves.

Could our indignation acquit even an aboriginee who would consider this a decent travesty of justice! Give me back my child, is the choking cry of abused parental love.

And if Africa is too far off for our ears to catch her cry: or if ignorance and oppression have so deadened her best sensibility that she has ceased to know how shamefully she has suffered in the robbery and commerce of her children, we believe heaven hears for her, and holds the book of account.

And if so, our bounden duty is to undertake, more earnestly than ever for Africa both here and abroad, all enterprises that promise to redress her wrongs and to return her offspring, who may have a hunger for home, to the land of their fathers. Therefore it goes without say-

ing, that those imposing plans of the American Board to plant the agencies and emblems of salvation at Bihe deserve the sympathy and supplication of every American citizen. They go not for gain, but the good of souls, the glory of God and the illumination of the dark land. So does the Mendi Mission, which now, under our American Missionary Association, after thirty years of feeble success and fearful sacrifice of white missionaries, is setting out to bring salvation to that part of Africa through the service of her own sons.

But passing these and other agencies with only a word of benediction, we are now to consider, whether this African Colonization Society ought not still to have a share of sympathy and a swelling measure of substantial support in doing a part of this work.

It ought; considering its patient continuance in well doing up to this present. At a meeting held in Park St. church, Boston, about a year ago, in the interests of your Society, Rev. Joseph Cook shocked the audience into intense attention by this opening sentence: "Liberia is bankrupt!" He instantly relieved our solicitude by saying; "These were the words of an opponent of African Colonization which I heard while coming down to the church."

It was not our Boston orator who declared "Liberia is bankrupt." And it may not have been the best informed from whom he took his oratorical fire-cracker.

The outs, if they are of a critical mind, have every advantage over the ins that endeavor to promote an enterprise. Because it is so much easier to criticise than to construct; easier to give reasons for refusing favor than to establish truth by argument and effort.

Of those who have least faith in African Colonization and least fervor in forwarding your endeavors, it may not be uncharitable to guess, the lack is due largely to the same cause which, we read, gave God such grief in the days of the prophets; "Israel doth not know; my people do not consider." But, remembering how much there is to know and do in our day, we need not feel aggrieved if all good men are not enlisted in every excellent movement.

It does not disturb the faith we have in the temperance reform that some really pious people are imprudent enough to tittle. Nor ought it to influence any friend of African Colonization unfavorably to hear of ardent philanthropists who prefer another way of paying our debts. It weighs nothing against this Society's work, that we know, if even the debased race, for whose welfare it has so patiently worked, are not entirely enthusiastic in their praise of it. That signifies nothing; because their intelligence is not yet so broad and clear but that they are in dread of the very uncertain white man who from the time he first stole their forefathers and enslaved them has shown an ingenuity in mistreating men of their color. Neither do any short comings of complete success in the free colony and Republic of Liberia settle the question against your eloquent appeal for enlarged support. Nations do not grow as Jonah's

gourd—unless to wither as quick. It was 1821 before a permanent beginning of the Republic of Liberia was recorded. Since then only sixty years have passed. Sixty years with sixty wings on every minute of the time, and how swiftly the years do fly.

Take account of any other nation that started on so desolate a site, on such stinted supplies, in the teeth of such hostilities, and see how much more any one of them achieved in their first sixty years. What was there to show on these shores within sixty years from the coming of Columbus? Or wait six years after the Spanish keel had cut a track across the sea, when the first English colony of 300, under Sabastian Cabot, arrived, and then count forward sixty years, and compare the results with those of Liberia. Quite seventy years elapsed before there was so much as a permanent colony planted north of the gulf of Mexico. True the world was younger then than now, and equal progress could not be expected. But we may be more generous, and not begin to inquire of the American colonies for a full century after Cabot's company came. And yet starting thus, in 1598, we shall need to wait two weary centuries more before those colonies are seamed and cemented under a Constitution of States.

So that if the short-comings of African Colonization were even more real than they are now imaginary, the propriety of supporting it does not deserve a snap judgment against it.

When reading recently more carefully than before the significant facts of the Society's history, I paused at this; it was in the ship "Elizabeth" your first eighty immigrants were carried to Africa. We recall another Elizabeth who bore a forerunner of her race and the pioneer of a holy dispensation. Her child endured many a year of ascetic sacrifice and severe labors in the wilderness of Judea merely to "prepare the way of the Lord." He organized nothing. He established nothing. This son of the New Testament Elizabeth was satisfied if he might be but "the voice" of the better things to come. And if the results of the voyage of that Elizabeth of yours, in all the years since she touched at Sherbro Island had been but to prepare the way of the people who are yet to follow, and to secure the blessings that Liberia may yet bestow on Africa, we ought to say of the Society; "Well done good and faithful servant!"

A second reason why the African Colonization Society ought to survive and be strengthened is, that better than any other it is now equipped to aid these restless sons of Africa to return home.

With some it is a first question whether they are restless, and do ask to return. The street says, no. Statistics say, yes? And of the two, statistics may be taken as the more sober and reliable witness. But I have not met a more adverse view of this work than comes from those who quote the street. They think the fundamental idea of the Society is fallacious: because the colored people do not desire aid to return and it is at variance with the truth to say they do! May I not safely make

this answer on your behalf? If they do not, then they need not.

They are not to be coerced nor cheated into changing countries. This Society has no kidnappers roaming the South. No cunning representations of yours are deceiving the colored population of the Carolinas. No oily-lipped agent in Florida or Louisiana, similar to those who serve the Chinese companies of California in Asia, or the Mormon monstrosity in Northern Europe are securing you emigrants. You do not flash the south with posters promising these poor people they will find Liberia the Eldorado where they can pick up riches as stones in the street. That is the way they used to draw emigrants from Ireland,—more's the pity. But as far as the east is from the west is any measure of yours from that bold operating of modern mining companies, which capitalizes a shadow at millions, on paper, and puts the shares on the market at a sixpence. And so, it has but little appearance of undue influence, where I read in "*Information about going to Liberia*" that each emigrant on his arrival is given only a town lot, or ten acres of land." For if he remains in America there are one hundred and sixty acres open to his occupancy. When it is asked: "How can I make a living in Africa;" the answer, as printed, is not particularly enticing to a people who are naturally tired. It says: "In the same way that you would make one anywhere else; that is by industry and economy."

This is not even so inviting as the inducement which an Irish laborer, lately landed in America, offered to friends in the old country to follow him here. I have nothing to do, wrote he, but lug loads of brick to the top of the building, and another man does all the work. Emigrants to Liberia learn before leaving home that the sentence of Heaven stands in Africa as here: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." But notwithstanding the ignorance there is among the colored people of the opportunity presented to them to obtain an independence, a self-control, a social respect, and political influence, which for generations to come but few of their race can reach by remaining in America; and notwithstanding the slight inducements that are offered them in passage and in property, this conservative Society asserts, that of its knowledge there are half a million of the people of color who are agitating the question of emigration to Liberia. If so it would seem befitting that this first friend of Western Africa's civilization should be enabled to aid this restless offspring of the early slaves. Except the African, there is no race represented in our heterogeneous population whose offspring might not be able without any outside aid to emigrate wherever they would—over all the earth, provided their fathers had used their opportunities and economized their profits. But it has been otherwise with the African race. Of the millions of them who were slaves, not one has a son over eighteen years of age who was not born with the brand of bondage on his brow and a fetter on his foot, unfitting him to easily find his way beyond the base estate in which his ancestors have suffered for centuries. And it agrees with the best impulses and deep-

est principles of justice that we owe it to every son of those sires who lived and died in servitude, to put it within their power to go and take up a residence wherever they desire.

Do some of them yearn for that, to them, most of all sacred state, the fat lands of Kansas? Then we would throw open every door, despite any specious argument which former owners urge against losing them from the cotton fields. And more, as Joseph put money into the bag of his brethren it would be but scant charity if every emigrant to that land should have given him as good a send off as you promise to those who start for Liberia. So, too our God speed would go with all who ask the way to South Africa, or to the rising-sun-side of their fatherland, "with their faces thitherward." But multitudes are looking to Western Africa: and when it is inquired who is in a position to best promote their going there does not appear any ground to debate that you are. Whether thinking of the wisdom of the illustrious men who have managed this Society—and before the array of their names the spirit of reverence spontaneously bows.—or whether we reckon on the superior advantages of climate and geography of your young Republic or if we note the numerous pointings of Divine Providence which prophecy a brilliant future for Liberia, it does look unreasonable and is due to some ignorance that all well wishers of colored people are not friends of African Colonization.

And this leads me to the next reason why the Society ought to succeed. Third; The American Republic owes it to her only child, the Republic in Africa, that she shall receive such supplies as will insure her stability and preserve her purity.

We say things sound as if the morning hour for Africa has struck. But there are hours before the third. We do not forget that for a hundred and fifty years fearless and faithful followers of Christ, have been laboring to lift South Africa into the light of Christian civilization. He reads little of the world's heroes who knows not George Schmidt, the pioneer of African missions; nor of that illustrious scholar, soldier and saint, Vanderkemp, who gave his great heart and life for Kaffirs and Hottentots, nor yet of Robert Moffat, whose glory-crowned grey-head was cynosure at the Mildmay Missionary Conference in 1879.; and who owed the honors he received, and is to receive unto and after death to the unmatched services and sacrifices he has given to missions in South Africa. It is not forgotten that Cape Colony gives a brighter view of the continent than Victoria Nyanza, Bornu, or the upper Niger. That where George Schmidt planted his "handful of corn" mission nearly two hundred thousand Christians have come to the Cross, and established the faith in South Africa.

But none of the beginnings in that region belong to us. To Great Britain and the Dutch Boers belong the Cape, the Orange River Free State: and the Transvaal Republic. And as posterity will hold them responsible for their good or evil influence over the poor natives, so it

must be with us up the coast, where we are trying the experiment of a Republic, built on a pattern received by us in the holy Mount Calvary. Liberia is far from home, and hard pressed by heathen populations that would enthrall her liberty by exhibiting to her ruling spirits the advantages of oppression. The child is separated by wide seas from this parental atmosphere that has, as its vital element of intelligent enterprise and independence, the prayers and piety, traditions and tendencies which arise as a fountain under the Christian Church and circulate through all the channels of social, commercial, literary and political life.

Remembering Liberia's proximity to populous and profoundly debased neighborhoods, it is worthy of our wonder that her skirts haven't been already bemired and her spirit bewitched—as Israel of old was wont to be by the encroaching heathen.

To surely prevent this, under that propitious Providence which has watched all your ships sail safe from shore to shore, let picked emigrants from our schools and Universities, and the better classes of colored citizens go out; in numbers corresponding at least with that constant inflow of country life which keeps our own cities supplied with their reviving element, and the young Republic will swell but never stagnate, and will age but not lose its youth.

Its present population of three quarters of a million is not sufficient to pierce the masses of moral corruption without becoming contaminated itself. And the best addition will be well bred brothers of their own blood who carry from home our highest and holiest ideas of education and religion to repeatedly refresh their aspirations and piety.

And as it is your aim to accomplish just this, I think the effort ought to succeed: and for a final fourth reason.

To afford a reasonable argument why other attempts to save Africa ought to be aided. At the outset of this enterprise the end in view stopped with your good will to free people of color in this country. Now all are politically free: and the emphasis of your endeavor rests not on narrower but on broader grounds. Then it was for the benefit of some Africans. Now it is for all Africans and all Africa. But if Liberia is not made a success after what has been given to it of the head and heart of many of the purest philanthropists which this century has produced, what can be hoped for on the more hostile Eastern Coast, or at Mtesa's court? Neither the East nor the interior offer greater facilities of approach; nor a kindlier reception to the new comer. Their airs are not so salubrious, nor soil more prolific, nor population more promising subjects of Christian civilizations.

So that when Liberia shall come to disappoint the expectations of its founders and friends, the wisdom of expending life and treasure on any further attempt to dissipate the darkness from the Transvaal to the Albert Nyanza will be pointedly questioned by practical men:

It is not because I have consented to say something on this occasion, that the claims of this work draw my warmest words of approval. I am

not subsidized to utter an endorsement, by a desire to receive your approval, who have placed me here. Any want of interest in me during the past has been due to ignorance and misapprehension; and to the fact, that only in the last few years have the claims of the dark continent and of the colored people pressed to the front of philanthropic questions.

Even now no violent rapture sweeps me from the place of reason. No utopian dream of drawing everybody into admiration of African Colonization fill my mind. But by as much as I gather together the facts of history, motives of action, and achievements of good which are already recorded of your attempt to plant a land of the free and a home for the black in Liberia, by so much does it appear impossible that divine Providence will allow you to want any good thing.

Around the entire rim of that great continent beacons have been lighted and beginnings made. But no where is the light so prismatically pure, containing so many of the colors that blend to make the white beam, as that which shines off the shores of Liberia. I would it were only by a flight of fancy, that I see there the one strong-hold of our holy religion; and the one place where the son of man when He cometh will find faith on the earth. Naturally a more religious race than any; and so easily captivated by the name of Christ that colored people never yield to anything so cordially as to the most Biblical religion, it may be that they in their own saved country may yet become the chiefest custodians of its sacraments, services and traditions. That if philosophizing Europe, and fashionable America, and idolatrous Asia shall ever have lost themselves in a turmoil of debate, in a whirl of imitations, or laid down in a lethargy of indifference—as Asia is fast doing, Africa may be holding fast the faith once delivered to the saints.

A distinguished and venerable bishop of the A. M. E. Church was preaching in my hearing at Saratoga. His topic was; the trials and triumphs of Christianity. Selecting many striking examples in old Testament times where the powers of evil tried but failed to destroy the Church of God, he came to the advent of Christ. Now, said the preacher, Satan and his forces were fired with a fierce purpose; they would not be foiled in this attempt. This is the son, they said; come let us kill him that the inheritance may be ours.

And so all the aids of the adversary combined and engaged Herod to kill the child Jesus. But when the Lord saw how strong they were, and He had no place of safety for his son outside of Egypt; He just ordered Joseph to take the young child and its mother and go down among the colored people; and stay until He brought him word again. "As it is written out of Egypt have I called my son." It had been known and written by inspiration long before it happened that there would come a time when the only safe place for the infant Christ would be down among the colored people. Is there any other Scripture in His mind, that reads; the time will come when the cause of Christ will have no place of perfect acceptance and safety except in Africa, among the colored people?

The Present Success of Liberia ;
Its Extent and Meaning.

AN ADDRESS

BY

WM. RANKIN DURYEE, D. D.,

DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,

AT THE

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ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Members of the American Colonization Society:

It is with feelings of sincerest pleasure that I come before you to-night to congratulate you on the completion of another year of labor for the noble cause in which you are engaged. This Society is gaining what we in America may call a venerable age. Yet we must remember that the trees which stand the longest and wave the strongest branches in our forests are not those which spring up to their fullness of height in a short period. Through a stretch of years, longer often than the ordinary life of man, they grow slowly but surely, sending out their hidden roots painfully and laboriously through the earth or the rocky fissure, till the springs are reached which summer never dries and frost never congeals. Their saplings at first grow rather in girth than in height, pushing out branches firmly set on the parent stem and able to resist the storm. Those who tread the woodland path may not at once note the growth; those who live by the forest side may scarcely be attracted; but at last, when the winds of a score of years have wrought their will, the massive tree which seems suddenly to emerge from among its companions, becomes the pride of the community, as it is seen rooted, erect, and advancing where others have decayed and fallen. Such, it seems to me, has been the course of the Society represented here to-night. Two generations have gone by since its seeds were planted by the hands of prayerful and loving men. Its advance has been through bitter storms assailing it on every side. From the very nature of its life it awoke special opposition, and if cursing and contempt, if partisan dislike at home or foreign hatred could have rooted it up, long ago this organization would have ceased to be. But it is not destroyed, thank God, but holds on its way with a prosperity around and beyond it, which defies the will of enemies. Like some graceful palm it uplifts its fruitage now where every eye can mark it; a fruitage as beautiful and beneficial as any merely human organization has ever gained. It presents LIBERIA, the one Negro Republic which Africa or the world knows, as the direct result of its prayers, its wisdom, and its sacrificing labor. It claims what no other organization for the benefit of the black man can claim, that the present condition of Liberia proves that the conceptions of

the founders of this Society were as grand and as permanent for good as those which have long been the pride of history. It has done more than bestow a civil freedom, it has done more than lift the intellect of the Negro, it has done more than merely colonize. *It has already, I profoundly believe, laid the corner-stone of a nation.* It has created an earthly home where the Negro finds himself without a social obstacle before him, and with every advantage which his fellow men enjoy, able to develop every God-given power and to upbuild the highest manhood as citizen and as individual. A Society that planned such a work as this, might have seemed, sixty years ago, but a company of enthusiasts. To-day the result declares that its members have been workers together with God. They were in the line of righteousness and wisdom when they began, their present successors are in the line of righteousness and wisdom still. The old battle cry of the Crusaders, "*Vult Deus, Vult Deus,*" "God wills it," may be written over your doors, for facts accomplished show the will of God in the past, and become, in a high degree, the foreshadowing of that will in the future.

Liberia, we believe, is no longer an experiment, but a success. Look at it! It holds within its borders 15,000 of the very best Negroes which this world contains, men and women trained to support themselves by honest labor in this life, and led by Divine love to hold the truest and noblest religion which has ever stimulated aspiration, encouraged hope, and comforted the spirit when beset by trials, anxieties, and sorrows. It contains hundreds of homes where the correct and loving principles of the Bible prevail. It contains scores of villages, some beginning to rise to civic dignity, where the spires of churches pierce the surrounding foliage, where school-houses send forth their bands of children, where busy industry sings its daily song, where wealth concentrates, and public spirit advances. It contains tracts of country where fifty years ago the forests only waved, but now dotted with plantations sustaining and enriching their owners. In these homes and communities children are born year by year who are Liberians purely and simply, without a single tie binding them to this country beyond ancestral association, like that which binds you and me to England, France, Holland, or Germany. Around these thousands of colonists increasing in number and influence, are seen the children of Africa itself, admiring the power of men of their own color and capacities, and seeking by close association to rise to the same level. They come not as to strangers, but as brother to brother, asking for themselves and their children the political and religious advantages which have already lifted those who have returned from

exile. I have not overdrawn the picture. Let a man read or let him spend a month on the Atlantic and pass over to the Dark Continent, and the reality will be far more impressive than the description. No, no; you cannot blot out Liberia. It has reached the point where it can smile at sneers, for it no longer halts. With easier movement year by year, it proves that the tottering steps of the past were not of old age, but of infancy; that its former weakness and simplicity giving advantage to every other nation preceded manhood and not decay. An advantage no African government, from Morocco to the Cape, possesses, attaches itself to Liberia, as it holds itself in closest relation with our own country where millions of the Negro race have already gained many of the advantages of Christian civilization. Among these the question of emigration is constantly stirring the hearts of the wisest and best, and the streams which turn to Africa grow larger every year. Such facts may rightly warrant the belief that Liberia has already passed the worst dangers besetting the earlier life of a nation, and warrant the anticipation of a future of a still firmer prosperity.

What is the meaning of this success? Granting the reality of present attainment, of what special interest is it to us. It means just what such men as Samuel J. Mills, and Robert Finley, and Bushrod Washington, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, and Lott Cary, and scores and hundreds of other Christian patriots, two generations ago, intended it should mean. It is the success of a combined Christianity and Republicanism *upheld by Africans on Africa's own shores*. And is not that enough to touch the heart and prompt the service of Americans of every race? In the very Constitution of Liberia, while religious liberty is jealously maintained and religious tests abolished, the Christian religion is acknowledged as the grand source of the highest blessings. To extend Bible Christianity is the glorious aim of every earnest follower of the great Redeemer of men. Nineteen centuries ago, He, at whose feet our noblest civilization still is sitting, looked forth from the Mount of Olives with a vision that swept the globe. With amazement, His followers, few and feeble as they were, heard these words; "All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore and disciple all nations." From that hour a conquest began which, with strange ebbings indeed, has never ceased its advance. A new civilization, founded on a Divine revelation of mercy and a Divine command to recognize and develop the brotherhood of humanity, began to flash its light amid the philosophies of Greece and the camps of conquering Rome. One continent after another accepted the religion of Jesus, and the Book which proclaimed His truth be-

came one of the most important factors in social and civil life. Slowly but surely the ideas of the Crucified Nazarene supplanted all other religions. Asia, whence the Gospel sprang, was swept by the heresy of Mahomet, which linked an eternal truth to an eternal lie. The truth lifted men from the savagery of heathenism, but then became conservative when moral progress had just begun. The lie of the Arabian prophet made bigotry and hatred supremest virtues, and impeded all moral elevation for twelve centuries, till Christianity in our own age began to retrace the paths her first ministers had trodden. In Europe the doctrines of Jesus ruled supreme, and in their purest form passed to our own shores. In Africa along the coast of the Mediterranean and the borders of the ocean, Christ's name and work were honored in early days, and then were almost extinguished by the reign of the Koran. But beyond the mere edges of this vast continent no gleam of Christianity has ever shone. The larger portion of Africa's millions have never had the slightest knowledge of Jesus the Christ. These millions are chiefly massed in the interior, on that wonderful and varied surface which reaches from the Southern border of the Sahara to the jungles which mark the course of the Zambezi as it turns to the Eastern ocean, and those which mark the Coanza seeking the Western seas. We know them as Negroes, separated by personal appearance and special race development from all the rest of human kind. Within this vast interior, amid these hosts of the moral subjects of God, only the most debasing forms of heathenism have found a home, crossed here and there by the Mahomedan doctrines which have penetrated from the North. The Arab has come into the interior, with some of the force of earlier days, and has already subdued savage tribes, lifting them indeed above their fellows, but alas! only lifting them to become worse despots and tyrants. At last, in our own times, the banner of the Cross was carried by a missionary explorer into the very heart of the great peninsula, and scores of devoted travelers have followed the "weaver boy of Blantyre" in the direction to which his heaven-sent enthusiasm first pointed. Before the century closes, the geographical features and social condition of the long-sealed continent will undoubtedly be disclosed, and that land which Christian love first opened, Christian generosity and sacrifice are striving to hold. But at what a cost is it done. Every fresh revelation seems to present new obstacles. The white man of the past has created a bitter prejudice against the white man of the present, for it was by his greed chiefly that the slave-traffic became extended till hate and discord were planted through every kingdom. Beyond this prejudice, climatic conditions and race distinctions raise

barriers which declare that a permanent occupation by the white man is impossible. The Christianity of Europe and America is making noble sacrifices, and heroes of the faith are seizing single points here and there only to pass over their work after a few months or years, as they die martyrs to their devotion. We but quote from missionary reports which bring such facts as these; "Out of 117 Wesleyan missionaries sent out in forty years, fifty-four died on the field, thirty-nine in one year from their arrival, and thirteen of the survivors returned home in less than two years after reaching Africa. Half of the one hundred and nine missionaries sent out by the English Church Missionary Society in thirty years, died at their posts and fourteen more returned home." And so the list is given in every Society. We do not sorrow over the sacrifice. Martyr blood has ever been the seed of the Church. But in God's wonderful wisdom there are other agents prepared for the extension of Christ's kingdom. There are Christian Negroes by the hundreds and thousands who have learned the sweetness and light of Christ's truth through years of sorrow. These can be sought as the means by which Christianity can secure the firmest foothold and make the largest and most permanent conquest. It was this inspiring idea which burned in the soul of Robert Finley, and Mills, and Ashmun, and Cary. They consecrated this Society to more than temporal advantages. And when we look at Liberia with its scores of churches and Christian schools, not flourishing as exotics but upheld by the people themselves, we are bold to affirm that as a Christian attempt to enlarge the Kingdom of God, it is one of the wisest of the plans which the church at home can sustain. There have been forty years of missionary labor in China, and ten self-supporting Chinese churches are the result. Liberia is filled with churches and schools. Their members are pushing into the interior every hour, and new communities are founded. One such church with pastor and people of the same race is worth a hundred so-called churches holding on to some foreign missionary as to its only source of life, and ready to sink into the surrounding heathenism if disease strikes the exile down. The domestication of fifteen thousand black men on African shores, is an achievement in which the germs lie of a permanent conquest of Africa for Jesus Christ. The appeal of Liberia for prayer and sympathy and aid, should stir every church at home, for it is *the appeal of the best equipped missionary force* that the church knows. The banner of the Cross is there upheld not by a single foreign hand, not by a few families separate in appearance and mode of thought from races around them, but it floats at the head of an organized army of believers, it is borne by Negroes themselves

who look to the same Redeemer we adore, who have chosen their fathers' home for their own earthly years, and whose motto above all expressive of merely temporal aims is, *Christ for Africa, and Africa for Christ.*

Passing, however, from this highest point of view, there is another meaning to the prosperity of Liberia which should awaken a constantly increasing interest. There are forms of government which present some admirable features. But our American hearts warm the most and beat the tenderest to political institutions which are "of the people, by the people, and for the people," which recognize no distinctions between men but those which spring from voluntary action, and which afford the individual the fullest, freest opportunity for the development of his powers. Few and far between on earth are governments which make possible such lives as those of Lincoln and Garfield. In the whole of Africa there is but one, and that one is Liberia. Kingly absolutism, colonial dependency on foreign armies, and race republicanism mingled with forms of slavery, are found in all the others. We can use of Liberia alone the words which our great historian Motley, so truly uttered of our own land:—"This nation stands on the point toward which other people are moving—the starting point, not the goal. It has put itself, or rather Destiny has placed it, more immediately than other nations, in subordination to the law governing all bodies political as inexorably as Kepler's law controls the motions of the planets. The law is *progress*; the result, *Democracy*." As our own ancestors wrought out the problem, so the good and wise founders of Liberia believed that the Negro race could work out its own development in the region of earth first designated by Divine Providence for its home. Where no social forces resulting from the mingling of the European or the Asian should interpose obstacles, they founded the Negro Republic, regardless of the sneers with which that foundation was laid. They pressed upon the early colonists the perils to which free governments are exposed, but none the less did they believe that it was the best and truest form of political life. For thirty-four years Liberia has been known as a free and independent nation. Those at the helm of power have found it no holiday task. Yet year by year every impartial observer can mark advance. The messages of such men as the Presidents Roberts, and Benson, and Warner, and Gardner, show a development which is already proving to every gainsayer that the Negro is capable of self-government. As one of their own writers recently pointed out, Liberia, after varied experiences, has emerged into a condition where the nation is "confident, hopeful and self-reliant." Who that has studied

history could expect more? The colonies of America required fifty, eighty, one-hundred years of constant fostering before the slightest signs of native strength appeared. And who should rejoice over this growth more than the children of freedom in our own land? Putting aside the fact that the founders of Liberia were born here, that its recruiting colonists came from the ranks of our own citizens, the very character of the government appeals to our hearty and constant sympathy. It is our own system reproduced, it is the spectacle of another race working upward on the same path which we have trodden. We know what obstacles they must meet by our own experience, and we cheer them on by the hope which once filled the hearts of our fathers and now fills our own. Can any American allow the shadow of colonial enmity to blast the growth of this offspring of liberty? A thousand times we should answer, No. We hear of foreign traders defying Liberian laws and threatening European force against her if she maintains them. The American people will have a word to say, we think, if ever the attempt is made. We exercise no protectorate, but we do extend the hand of sympathy. That sympathy should even now be so expressed, that Liberia should feel emboldened to take her stand on her undoubted national rights, and exercise her undoubted national duties. There is a bit of America in Africa to-day which America at home means shall have fair play, even if that seems to stretch the Monroe doctrine. This colonial annexation system by European governments has already been checked by the statesman whose ideas now govern England. As against internal disorder and heathen or Mahometan attack we can trust the young Republic to its own strength, guided and increased by God. We believe that it will subdue such foes by steady Christian kindness as much as by the exercise of military force. We believe that if unhindered by European selfishness the growth of the Republic will extend toward the heart of the Continent where Dr. Blyden declares the true manhood of Africa exists to-day, and the two streams, one from the shore and one from the centre, will mingle their knowledge, power, and aspirations, to become, as a united people under a free government, like one of their own magnificent lakes on whose shores every fruit of a true prosperity may abound, and over whose waters the friendly flags of every race may wave.

In the position this Society holds toward the Republic, its mission is not yet accomplished. We may believe Liberia already a success, yet may freely admit that it has not yet attained the strength it must possess before our anxieties may cease. It is independent of our counsels and guidance, it never can be independent of our sympathy.

Nay, it asks for that sympathy so that its own advantages in its own appointed work may be fully set forth. The Negro race of America asks advice or aid; it must be given by this body. Church and State alike need to be enlightened and stimulated, channels of trade need to be indicated, and more than all, emigration should be guided and protected. We rejoice to know that the best thought of our Negro citizens recognizes with growing clearness the simple and sincere philanthropy which animates this Society, and that increasing numbers are freely choosing African homes. In spite of all sneers and outcries we believe they choose wisely. As Liberia rises in the scale the children of those Negroes who remain here will learn that the sentimental or partisan theories which held their fathers to these shores were of little value compared to the brave earnestness which led others to seek a country of their own. As African manhood grows on African shores, it must advance with far more rapidity and permanence than in a country where centuries of oppression not only have debased but created an atmosphere of feeling which no human law can reach. To show to the struggling individual or family that God Himself has opened a way of escape from such distinctions of race as will be made for a century to come, and to point them to a home in the land of their ancestors, this Society must hold on its way till Liberia itself assumes the labor and starts a bureau of colonization sustained by its own means.

Such a completion will bring the joy of a full success, and such a completion we may anticipate in a not very distant future. It has been a long and trying labor amid the bitter political struggles of our country to sustain this organization, but its aims have been so pure and its trust in God so firm that its present success has been attained. The foundation stones of another Republic we believe have been permanently laid, and the very toil and care demanded in that work may guide safely our prediction of what the future must disclose. In this great commercial city close to my own New Jersey home, I sometimes pass deep excavations in which, week after week, the patient workmen toil. The rushing crowds above them scarcely deign a look, only a few stragglers now and then peering over the brink with curious eyes. Little those builders care. By the very care they take by the very time they consume, they show that they understand what a structure they intend to rear. On such foundations only the lofty building rises where merchants may carry on their world-reaching business, or millionaires may shelter and preserve their costly treasures. And so the first three-score years of Liberia's history are no wasted years. The foundations laid by earnest men are slowly rising above

surface. No shouts of conquest, no applause of the people, may
e been gained. We may say of the young Republic as Heber
g of the first temple;

"No workman's steel, no pond'rous axes rung,
Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric sprung."

Let those foundations foretell the character of a nation soon to be.
ation self-ruled by principles based on a Bible-taught religion. A
ion eager by voluntary desire for service and sympathy rather than
conquest, and rising to eminence on the lines of action which the
atest Teacher of the universe indicated when He proclaimed "Who-
ver of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all." A nation
e to walk abreast with other peoples, in its self-respect and energy,
t exchanges the special gifts won by its own labor from a tropic
in the world's great market. A nation blest of God and esteemed
all true men. This is the Liberia of the future to which the Libe-
of the present points our gaze. The night is passing and the
n breaks into day. By the signs of that coming glory, all that
se who have toiled so faithfully in the work of upbuilding this
at cause, need to-day is what a great thinker pronounced the secret
all lasting success: Courage, *courage*, COURAGE!

The Present Crisis

IN THE WORK OF

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

AN ADDRESS

BY

BISHOP WM. R. NICHOLSON, D. D.,

DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,

AT THE

SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF

The American Colonization Society.

January 17th, 1882.

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1882.

ADDRESS.

It is an old proverb, Man's extremity is God's opportunity. There might well be another proverb—God's opportunity is man's urgency. When special movements of Divine Providence are abroad in the earth, it is then our duty and interest to take observations, to heed warnings, to catch inspiration, to act with promptness. A grand movement of God, specially apparent at this time, is the solving the problem by the logic of events, of the destiny of our freedmen, and, concomitantly, the opening up of Africa to the light of Christianity, the interests of commerce, and the development of civilization. God's opportunity is man's urgency. Never were the claims of the American Colonization Society to the devoted support of the friends of the Gospel and of human amelioration so enforced as now by those Almighty influences, which seem to enter, at chosen junctures, with wondrous effect into the affairs of men; and never so inspiring has been the sublime hopefulness of its work. Our duty is plain; our zeal should catch fire, our courage become transcendent.

There are tides in the affairs of men. Impulses—strange, unexpected, contagious, enthusiastic—take their rise from time to time in great masses of men, and bear right onward to glorious consummation many a rich freightage of human weal. Individual men, it is true, by heroic patience, and persistent effort, and a determined stand for principle, may do much, especially in the way of getting a people ready for the flow of the tide, whenever that may be; but it is only when the tide does flow, when great numbers of men are stirred at the same moment and uplifted by the same thoughts, that, as regards any far-reaching social movement, triumphant success is achieved. History teems with examples, and with reference to such crises in affairs we are accustomed to say, "The times were ripe." When Luther began to preach the distinctive doctrines of the great Reformation, how many evangelical workers for truth and righteousness had already appeared and had exhausted themselves? In the Providence of God they had been gradually making ready, in many lands, for the grand outburst of a gospel enthusiasm of nations. It is not that Luther, simply as Luther, exerted so tremendous an in-

fluence; he was just the mouthpiece of millions behind him, and it was to their thoughts and feelings he gave voice. When the tea was pitched over-board in Boston harbor, the thirteen colonies trembled in sympathy from Massachusetts to the Carolinas. A pebble, as by the finger of God, was let fall into the sea of a new nationality, and lo! what concentric waves of feeling, one after another, larger and larger, spreading over the entire surface of the waters, and only ceasing to spread when had been reached the solid shores of American Independence.

There are tides in human affairs, and happy they who are appointed to float their work upon the flood of a wide-spread interest. Others may have preceded them—must have preceded them—toiling in secret and in quiet, toiling in the midst and in spite of opposition, preparing for the auspicious moment, laying broad and deep the foundations of a people's concerted action; but it is only when the people's outburst of convictions shall have come, that the sweets of assured success are tasted and enjoyed.

We have arrived, I think, at one of such junctures in the history of God's providence, for, as I judge of it, the American Colonization Society is just now in the act of cresting the wave. For more than sixty years it has been a persistent, courageous, far-seeing worker in one of the holiest causes that were ever endeared to the human heart. Its little band of clear-thinking, determined, philanthropic men have gone on tugging against the lethargic indifference well nigh everywhere prevailing for many long years, and in some instances, against fiercest opposition; at the same time disseminating seed-thoughts, keeping their work aloft in the view of all, working out some most important successes, making ready for God's chosen moment in the future. And now, at length, underneath our finger's ends, are the quickening pulses of an epidemic of interest. Events in quick succession have riveted attention to this form of Christian philanthropy; meanwhile these arguments of God's Providence are multiplying, and are such as may be felt. Accordingly, susceptibility of impression as regards the excellence and the grandeur of colonization, now already widely existent, is evidently extending, and, as regards the commercial possibilities of its future, even selfishness is beginning to thrill with desire. The Society is standing today at the threshold of another and grander stage of its work.

This is no exaggeration. Let the facts speak for themselves. In order to this, and in illustration of what I regard as the present crisis in the work of the American Colonization Society, I proceed to pass in brief review the remarkable concurrence of circumstances in the midst of which its work must now be done.

First, we have in our country, 4,000,000 freedmen. These persons, formerly slaves under our laws, have recently been made, by our own act as a sovereign people, our fellow-citizens. This is, in itself, a prodigious fact.

But these persons are of a peculiar race, and between them and the dominant race of this country a great gulf is fixed. True, they are equal with ourselves before the laws of the land, which is as it should be; but they are not equal with ourselves in the courts of sentiment and custom—imperious courts, whose domineering decrees are iron-clad, and from them there is practically no appeal. The black man is here under social disabilities. He is not admitted into Anglo-Saxon society. He belongs to a hereditary caste. His very existence is a reminder of social inferiority. His sphere of action is one of fixed and hopeless subordination. Individuals among them may achieve greatness, nevertheless, the dominant sentiment of our country is evermore saying, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further. These disabilities are an incubus on his spirits, a nightmare to his motions, a burden crushing his energies, a drag obstructing his progress. He has no fair field of personal development. Intellectually he may expand, but socially he cannot rise. Here he is doomed to grovel. This is a fact yet more prodigious.

Can this fact fail to move the sensibilities of all thoughtful, benevolent Christian people? Time was when, amid the entangling alliances of prejudice engendered by slavery, so many minds among us were unable, sympathetically, to estimate this inevitable social depression of a freedman; but now that such prejudices have passed away, must not those other prejudices (call them such, if you please) in which is grounded the social ostracism of the free Negro, be regarded as creating a necessity for something more being done (if that be possible) in behalf of those whom we have set free? That high appreciation of a man's moral worth which has prompted the American people to rejoice at the enfranchisement of these millions of human souls—can it fail to be the motive power of whatever further efforts may be practicable for securing to our freedmen more favorable circumstances of personal and social well-being? It is impossible that the sacredness of this obligation should not be recognized. It is recognized. We hear it announced in private conversations; we see it announced in the newspaper press. Thousands of hearts are this day palpitating with it.

Nor are the freedmen themselves insensible to the disabilities of their situation. They feel the fact of their banishment from Anglo-Saxon social life. They are galled by the fetters of caste. They as-

pire to be citizens of a realm of social equality. Accordingly, where as during the sixty and odd years past the Colonization Society has sent only about 15,000 free colored persons to Africa, there are to-day 200,000 knocking at its door for the privilege of passing thither. The 2,000,000 may not all be willing to go, it is not to be expected, nor would we for an instant abridge their liberty of choosing their own home.

Hundreds of thousands there are, however, who are fast getting ready for this exchange of countries. And it must be so. For their race distinction, while barring them out from social equality here, has inevitably the effect to make them a solidarity by the cementing power of a sense of race integrity; and while race devotedness is an instinct of nature, race supremacy is the divinely allotted sphere of untrammelled personal improvement. Therefore it is that their destination is Africa. And they must feel it to be so more and more. Meanwhile these yearnings of theirs for a country of their own cannot but awaken the benevolent sympathies of the American people.

Now what a fact to have continually before us is this of our 4,000,000 freedmen? In the presence of so prodigious a fact, must it not be that the cause of colonization shall loom up—is looming up in grandest proportions of influence and success?

Secondly, on the other hand, we see that Africa is waiting for them. They are themselves restless and yearning for a country of their own, and now the country of their own is ready to receive them. It is their own country allotted to them by a divine arrangement "when the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance." Their fathers were violently torn from it and imported into slavery, and these, their liberated descendants, exiles from the ancestral home, may have the satisfaction of knowing that fatherland has indeed been kept for them.

Not that Africa is without inhabitants, and in this sense is waiting for the return of the exiles. It has never been depopulated, and to-day more than 200,000,000 souls tenant its vast plains, the shores of its great rivers, its mountains and valleys. But it is in this, its very populousness, that the waiting of the dark continent for our freedmen is seen to be a manifest truth. A great work is waiting to be done for Africa's dense population—a work of Christian enlightenment and civilization, and only such as our freedmen can do that work. For Africa has barred her doors against the white man. He cannot live there. Roman Catholic missionaries tried it for two hundred and fourteen years, and have not left a vestige of their influ-

ence behind. Moravians, beginning in 1736, tried it for thirty-four years, making five attempts, at a cost of eleven lives, and did nothing. Englishmen tried it in 1790 for two years at Bulama Island, with the loss of a hundred lives. The London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies tried it in 1797, but their stations were extinct in three years, and five or six missionaries dead. Many other missionary attempts were made before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed. Several Protestant missions there are now in Liberia which have done a good work, but it has been at the cost of many lives. The white man cannot live and labor there. And it is a remarkable fact that only infinitesimal portions of that mighty continent are owned by the white man. To the black man himself falls the stupendous work of redeeming his own country. Evidently, however, this work cannot be done by the heathen and the Mohammedans, between whom mainly its teeming population is divided. The workers must be imported back there. Importations have been made into Sierra Leone by our English friends, and the results, both as to Christianity and civilization, have been glorious. And importations have been made by the American Colonization Society with like encouraging results; but all this is only "a drop in the bucket." Hundreds of thousands of these colored missionaries of a continent's redemption would find more than enough to do in so vast an enterprise. Thus it is that their own country is now waiting for our freedmen.

For where shall such needed workers come from? As Dr. Blyden has said; they cannot be sent from Martinique and Guadeloupe, from Barbadoes, Jamaica and Antigua, since to deplete those Islands would be to destroy them. No they must be sent from the United States. A mighty host they are, foot-loose, mind-free, and needing Africa as Africa needs them.

Behold, then, the complex adaptations of God's Providence. On the one hand the freedmen's call and Africa's answer, and on the other hand, Africa's call and the freedmen's answer, meanwhile the Colonization Society, like a living telegraph, transmitting hither and thither the double call and the double answer.

Thirdly. And now there stands Liberia. Not only is fatherland waiting for them, but a definite home in fatherland has been specially provided for their reception. It is as if the ideas and customs and living with which our freedmen have here grown familiar—in a word, as if their experiences here had been lifted bodily, and wafted thither upon the winds of the Atlantic. To the returning freedman, as for the first time he plants his feet upon the

strange strand of his as yet unfamiliar fatherland, the circumstances of Liberia are already vocal with his own familiar joys, and shout him a grateful home welcome, in the new career on which he has entered.

The origination of Liberia is due to the philanthropic statesmanship of the United States Government, under President Monroe in connection with the benevolence, and wisdom, and heroic persistence of the American Colonization Society; while mainly from the latter, among whose members in the past we are proud to pronounce the names of Henry Clay, President Monroe, Bishop Meade of Virginia, and others of like eminence, has come the fostering care, which has brought it through sixty years to its present strength and prosperity. It is the localization in Africa of a body politic of the freedmen from this country. It is a Republic modeled after that of the United States, with whose nomenclature and functions they are familiar. It is an established government, an independent State, and is now recognized as such by all the great nationalities of Christendom. It is a territory of 600 miles of sea-coast by some hundreds of breadth, secured first by honest payment, then won by the hard work of the Colonists from "the sinewy boar and the stealthy leopard," and won again by their skill and heroic bravery from the yell of the perfidious and murderous savage, whose lands are among the richest and best on the continent, and whose many valuable productions are inviting, and maintaining an ever increasing commerce.

Liberia is now a beacon light in the darkness of Africa. Her fifty or sixty churches, her earnest clergymen, her common schools and high school and college, the acknowledged scholarship of some of her prominent men, her legislative assemblies, her courts of justice, her able officers, her protection by law of person and property. These all are her glory. Her usages of society she has taken from ourselves. Her comforts of life are those which we are accustomed to enjoy. And already she has made herself felt as a power in the world, for the slave barracoons she has swept away, and the slave trade she has abolished from the whole length of her coast, and even the domestic slavery in the native tribes of her territory she has entirely suppressed. Her twenty thousand citizen freedmen have made the authority of her laws supreme over a million native Negroes, besides bringing over 200,000 of them under the elevating influences of her institutions. In fine, she is Christian, enlightened, civilized, Americanized.

This is Liberia, as she stands, with outstretched hands, to welcome back the returning children of Africa. And yet, hardly more than twenty thousand freedmen are counted within her borders. Just im-

agine one hundred thousand of our four millions to be domiciled in that sovereign State. What an accession of strength. What would be the impetus of development, the enthusiasm of purpose and hope, the victorious march of a beneficent power, through many a dusky tribe of the swarming interior.

Fourthly—We have before us the significant fact that the world's knowledge of Africa has been recently so very much enlarged. What a locked-up region of the earth it has always been. Geographers have known next to nothing of the contents of its immensity. Now, however, the map-maker is able to dot the surface of Africa with forests, and rivers, and lakes, and towns, and cities, in such profusion as would have been regarded as fabulous twenty years ago. But the very surprising thing is, that the most of these recent additions to our geographical knowledge have come about since the date of President Lincoln's signature to the decree of Emancipation. Simultaneously with the liberation of the millions of slaves in this country, the work of exploring Africa, and of making the world acquainted with its hidden interior, has seemed to spring forward as by a new inspiration, and now the long-kept secrets of that repellant continent are being revealed. Just as the pressing need of further knowledge was coming to be felt, a furor of discovery took possession of certain daring spirits in different parts of Christendom, and behold! the geographical enigma of the world lies unfolded to the gaze of mankind. We see how charming a country is the hitherto great unknown, and that an increased power of attractiveness is being brought to bear upon the sensibilities of Anglo-Saxon and Negro alike. Is not this a striking conjunction of affairs? Is it not the voice of God well-nigh made audible? Is He not saying to us, Africa is gloriously worthy of your best endeavors? and to the freedmen, Go forward with haste?

Thus have we passed in rapid review that remarkable concurrence of circumstances, to which I have referred as at this juncture rendering so forceful the interests of colonization. The four millions of freedmen in our land—the waiting of Africa for their return—the home-like Liberia—the vast enchanting improvements in the geography of Africa within the time elapsed since our abolition of slavery—in these four facts we have the present glorious crisis in the work of this Society. Perhaps I might add, that if the United States Government were a little more pronounced in its kindly offices toward Liberia, its own offspring, but little would remain to be desired as regards the present advantages of the cause of colonization. Not that we would have our Government depart from its traditions in its non-interference in the affairs of other governments; but in the well-

chosen words of Commodore Shufeldt, "A friendly note to a friendly Power, simply indicating that we take an active interest in Liberia, and would not be willing to see her territory curtailed or her trade restricted, and the occasional visit of an American man-of-war to indicate to the tribes within Liberian boundaries that the laws of Liberia must be respected;" that were all to be desired. It were a sublime expression of the moral sense of this Government; and politically justifiable by the fact of its original interests in Liberia, by the enormous debt this country owes to her freedmen, and by the dawning prospects of the commercial prosperity of our intercourse with that rich and growing State. Aside from this, however, and looking at the remarkable concurrence of circumstances actually existing, can it be doubted that the work of this Society is now more needed than ever, and, in fact, that it may now take at the flood a grand tidal wave of God's gracious Providence? What magnificent auspices under which to carry on a great work of Christian philanthropy. What a series of calls and answers—Providential reciprocities, Divine adaptations; day unto day uttering speech, night unto night showing knowledge. God's opportunity is man's urgency; and hope, and courage, and enthusiasm should inspire our efforts.

But that wonderful combination of facts which we have been reviewing is only as the prepared channel for our energies; the supply of energy can only come from a deep appreciation of the work itself. The proper advancement of human beings—the moral and social development of our freedmen—the promotion of human progress—the civilization of savage tribes—the elevation of our degraded humanity—the Christianization of Africa's dusky myriads—the leading of helpless souls to the Saviour of sinners—these are the motive powers, and as they are kept vivid and influential in the mind, so shall we be quick and effective in taking advantage of the swelling sympathies of the hour.

It specially behooves us to understand that a grander Gospel missionary enterprise there cannot be than is just this work of the Colonization Society. The field is ripe for the harvest. A mighty continent overspread by heathenism, with its habitations of cruelty, and by Mohammedanism, with its polygamy and slavery, calls aloud for the aggressive benevolence of Christendom. But the Christian Negro himself is the only effective missionary to his congeners in Africa, and a most effective missionary he is. Witness what has already been done in this direction by the small force in Liberia.

Our churches should awake to the conviction that a tremendous power for the gospel in Africa is *slumbering* in the Christian Negroes

of our country, and that, as the indispensable means to the end, they should enable the Colonization Society to call forth and apply that now slumbering power. We do not begin to appreciate this gigantic power which God has placed at our disposal. Permit me to sketch it for you. See that slave-boy. He was bartered for a horse and returned as an unfair exchange, and on two subsequent occasions was bartered for rum and tobacco. His spirit was then so broken that he tried to commit suicide. He was afterwards sold to Portuguese traders, rescued by an English vessel, converted to Christianity, educated and ultimately ordained, and was consecrated a Bishop. The parents from whom the slave had been wrenched in his childhood he met again after a separation of twenty-five years. His heathen relatives received from him their first knowledge of the Gospel, and his mother died under the roof of her son's Episcopal residence. He founded a notable mission, perhaps the most successful in the world. He has confronted heathen monarchs, and told them their sins. He has grappled with the slave trade, with cannibalism, with polygamy, with heathen ignorance, with Mohammedan fanaticism. More than once he has been captured and his life imperiled, but he still lives to preach the everlasting gospel; his work is a bright light in a dark place, his presence is a benediction to the wretched serfs of superstition, his gray hairs are a crown of glory. This is my sketch. Do you call me a sensational novelist? Nay, in this, as in other instances, truth is stranger than fiction. I have but given you a narrative of facts. It is the life of Samuel Crowther, the Negro Bishop of the Church of England, who was seized as a boy by a Mohammedan gang in 1821, went through all the vicissitudes detailed above, and established the great mission of which he now has charge, and of which the Secretary of this Society has written that "Christendom knows not of any other such mission as the Niger mission of the Church Missionary Society." Is this not a record of power? But is it anything more than as the bud to the blossom? For how many a Crowther, unconscious and unheeded, may be slumbering away among our freedmen? Ye friends of Christian enlightenment everywhere, ye believers in Jesus Christ in all the churches, awake, awake to the magnitude of the subject. Come up to the help of the Colonization Society in its efforts to transfer this gigantic power to where it is so much needed, and thus move onward with God Himself in this majestic march of His Providence. Give to the Society your sympathy, your moral support, your material aid, and say to her in strength-giving tones, and as well in deeds as in words, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee!"

THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE
OF
AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

BEING
THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE
DELIVERED AT THE
SIXTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

HELD IN THE
NEW YORK AVENUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Sunday, January 14, 1883,

BY
EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, LL. D.,
President of Liberia College.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON CITY :
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1883.

DISCOURSE.

THE LORD OF HOSTS HATH SWORN, SAYING, SURELY AS I HAVE THOUGHT, SO SHALL IT COME TO PASS; AND AS I HAVE PURPOSED, SO SHALL IT STAND."—*Isaiah xiv-24.*

Perhaps it would satisfy the evolutionist or agnostic if the passage were read as follows:— "Surely as it has been conceived so shall it come to pass; and as it has been purposed, so shall it stand." For there is not a thinking being, whatever his religious belief, who does not at once recognize the fact that everything in the physical and moral world proceeds according to some plan or order. That some subtle law, call it by whatever name you please, underlies and regulates the movements of the stars in their courses and the sparrows in their flight. It is also the belief of all healthy minds that that law or influence is always tending towards the highest and best results—that its prerogative and design are to make darkness light, crooked things straight and rough places smooth; or, in the misty phraseology of modern criticism, it is the "Eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness,"—that its fiats are irrevocable and their outcome inevitable. With this understanding, men are now constructing the science of history, the science of language, the science of religion, the science of society, formulating dogmas to set aside dogma, and consoling themselves that they are moving to a higher level and solving the problems of the ages.

Among the conclusions to which study and research are conducting philosophers, none is clearer than this—that each of the races of mankind has a specific character and a specific work. The science of Sociology is the science of race.

In the midst of these discussions, Africa is forcing its claims for consideration upon the attention of the world, and science and philanthropy are bringing all their resources to bear upon its exploration and amelioration. There is hardly an important city in Europe where there is not an organization formed for the purpose of dealing with some of the questions connected with this great continent.

There is 'The International African Association,' founded at Brussels, in 1876, of which the King of the Belgians is the patron.

"The Italian National Association for the exploration and civilization of Africa." The "Association Espanola para la Exploracion del Africa." The King of Spain has taken great practical interest in this Society. "The German Society for the Exploration of Africa," founded in 1872 by the German Geographical Associations. It receives assistance from the government. The "Afrikanische Gesellschaft," in Vienna, founded in 1876, also under royal patronage. "The Hungarian African Association," founded in 1877. "The National Swiss Committee for the Exploration of Central Africa." The French Government and the French Chamber of Commerce have made large grants of money to aid in African exploration. Then there is an African Association at Rotterdam, besides the great Royal Geographical Society of England, which has a special fund for African researches, and has recently sent Thomson to explore the snow covered mountains of eastern Africa.

This anxiety to penetrate the mysteries of Africa, this readiness to turn from the subtleties of philosophy and the fascinations of science, to deal with the great physical fact of an unexplored continent, is not a new experience in the world. The ancients were equally concerned. With a zealous curiosity overcoming the promptings of the finer sentiments and the desire for military glory, Cæsar proposed to abandon his ambitious exploits for the privilege of gazing upon the source of the Nile.

The modern desire for more accurate knowledge of Africa is not a mere sentiment; it is the philanthropic impulse to lift up the millions of that continent to their proper position among the intellectual and moral forces of the world; but it is also the commercial desire to open that vast country to the enterprises of trade. Europe is overflowing with the material productions of its own genius. Important foreign markets, which formerly consumed these productions, are now closing against them. Africa seems to furnish the only large outlet for them, and the desire is to make the markets of Soudan easily accessible to London, Manchester and Liverpool. The depressed factories of Lancashire are waiting to be inspired with new life and energy by the development of a new and inexhaustible trade with the millions of Central Africa; so that Africa, as frequently in the past, will have again to come to the rescue and contribute to the needs of Europe. Emergencies drove homeless wanderers to the shores of Libya:—

"Defessi Æneadae, quæ proxima litora, cursu
Contendunt petere, et Libyæ vertuntur ad oras."*

* Virgil's Æneid.

But the plans proposed by Europeans for opening up Africa, as far as they can be carried out by themselves, are felt to be inadequate. Many feel that commerce, science, and philanthropy may establish stations and trace out thoroughfares, but they also feel that these agencies are helpless to cope fully with the thousand questions which arise in dealing with the people.

Among the agencies proposed for carrying on the work of civilization in Africa, none has proved so effective as the American Colonization enterprise. People who talk of the civilizing and elevating influence of mere trade on that continent, do so because they are unacquainted with the facts. Nor can missionaries alone do this work. We do not object to trade, and we would give every possible encouragement to the noble efforts of missionaries. We would open the country everywhere to commercial intercourse. We would give everywhere hospitable access to traders. Place your trading factories at every prominent point along the coast, and even let them be planted on the banks of the rivers. Let them draw the rich products from remote districts. We say, also, send the missionary to every tribe and every village. Multiply throughout the country the evangelizing agencies. Line the banks of the rivers with the preachers of righteousness—penetrate the jungles with those holy pioneers—crown the mountain tops with your churches, and fill the valleys with your schools. No single agency is sufficient to cope with the multifarious needs of the mighty work. But the indispensable agency is the colony. Groups of Christian and civilized settlers must, in every instance, bring up the rear, if the results of your work are to be widespread, beneficial and enduring.

This was the leading idea that gave birth to the Society whose anniversary we have met to celebrate. To-day we have the Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society. This fact by itself would excite no feeling, and perhaps no remark. But when we consider that although this is but the sixty-sixth year of its existence, it has been successful in founding a colony which has now been for thirty-five years an independent nation, acknowledged by all the Powers of the earth, we cannot but congratulate the organization upon an achievement which, considering the circumstances, is unparalleled in the history of civilization; and which must be taken as one of the most beautiful illustrations of the spirit and tendency of Christianity.

When the Society began its work, its programme was modest, and in the early declarations of its policy it was found expedient to

emphasize the simplicity of its pretensions and the singleness of its purpose. In describing its objects, one of the most eloquent of its early supporters — Dr. Leonard Bacon — said, "The Colonization Society is not a missionary society, nor a society for the suppression of the slave trade, nor a society for the improvement of the blacks, nor a society for the abolition of slavery; it is simply a society for the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa."

But in pursuance of its legitimate object, its labors have been fruitful in all the ways indicated in Dr. Bacon's statement. It has not only established a colony, but it has performed most effective missionary work; it has suppressed the slave trade along six hundred miles of coast; it has improved the condition of the blacks as no other means has; and it is abolishing domestic slavery among the Aborigines of that continent.

Like all great movements which are the outcome of human needs, and have in view the amelioration of the condition of large masses of people, it attracted to its support at the opening of its career, men of conflicting views and influenced by divers motives. Some of its adherents gave one reason for their allegiance, others gave another; and sometimes to the superficial observer or to the captious opponent, these different reasons furnished grounds for animadversions against the Society. Though it owed its origin to the judicious heads and philanthropic hearts of some of the best men that ever occupied positions of prominence and trust in this nation, yet there were those who ridiculed the scheme as wild and impracticable. Some opposed it because they loved the Negro; others discountenanced it because they hated the Negro. Some considered that the Society in wishing to give him an opportunity for self-government, placed too high an estimate upon his ability; others thought that the idea of sending him away to a barbarous shore was a disparaging comment upon his capacity, and robbing him of his right to remain and thrive in the land of his birth. To not a few who neither loved nor hated the Negro—but were simply indifferent to him—the idea of transporting a few emancipated slaves to Africa with the hope of bringing about a general exodus of the millions in this country, or of building up a nation in that far-off land of such materials, seemed absurd and ridiculous.

The Society was hardly fifteen years in operation when it met with organized opposition in the American Anti-Slavery Society, the founders of which looked upon the work of Colonization as an attempt to evade the duty and responsibility of emancipation. At this time Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, a leader of the abolition move-

ment, was the most eloquent and persistent of the assailants of the Society. He carried the war against it into England, and pursued with unrelenting scorn and invective Mr. Elliott Cresson, who was then representing the cause before the British public. In the interesting life of the great anti-slavery reformer, by Oliver Johnson, it is said that when Mr. Garrison returned to this country from England in 1833, he brought with him a "Protest" against the Colonization scheme, signed by Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, O'Connell and others of scarcely less weight.*

But Mr. Garrison ought to have known, and probably did know, that it was not the Colonization scheme as conceived by its founders that these philanthropists opposed, for they were men of a spirit kindred to that which animated Samuel J. Mills, and the Finleys and Caldwells, whose labors brought the Society into being. What they did oppose was the scheme as they saw it under the representations of Mr. Garrison, who, himself, benevolent at heart, had been influenced by personal reasons and by the injudicious utterances of certain advocates of Colonization. They opposed it as they saw it through the glasses of such good old Negroes as Father Snowden of Boston, who, in those days, offered a prayer for the Colonization Society so striking in its eloquence as to have deserved a place, in the judgment of Mr. Oliver Johnson, in a serious narrative of the doings of the great anti-slavery leader—"O God," said the simple and earnest old man, "we pray that that seven-headed, ten-horned monster, the Colonization Society, may be smitten through and through with the fiery darts of truth, and tormented as the whale between the sword-fish and the threshers."†

I say that the friends of Africa in England did not oppose African Colonization in itself, for just about the time of Mr. Garrison's visit to England, or very soon after, they adopted, under the lead of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a scheme for the regeneration of Africa by means of her civilized sons, gathered from the countries of their exile; and at great expense sent out an expedition to the Niger, for the purpose of securing on that river a hundred square miles of territory on which to settle the returning exiles. Capt. William Allen, who commanded the first Niger expedition, on his return in 1834, when describing the advantages of a civilized colony, used these words:

"The very existence of such a community, exalted as it would be

* William Lloyd Garrison and his Times, by Oliver Johnson, p. 130.

† *Garrison and his Times*, p. 72. Mr. Oliver Johnson, throughout his work, shows his own conception of the status and functions of the Negro, by never using a capital letter in writing the word that describes the race.

in its own estimation, and in the enjoyment of the benefits of civilization, would excite among its neighbors a desire to participate in those blessings, and would be at once a normal or model society, gradually spreading to the most remote regions, and, calling forth the resources of a country rich in so many things essential to commerce, might change the destinies of the whole of Western Central Africa."*

In a letter addressed by Stephen Lushington and Thomas Fowell Buxton to Lord John Russell, August 7, 1840, all the arguments used by the American Colonization Society for colonizing civilized blacks in Africa, are reproduced.

Thomas Clarkson, writing to a friend under date Sept. 12, 1842, says: "I am glad to find that in the *Friend of Africa* you lay such stress upon native agency, or the agency of the black people themselves to forward their own cause. Good sense would have dictated this; but God seems to point it out as one of His plans. He has raised up a people by the result of emancipation, qualified both in intellect and habituation to a hot climate, to do for us the grand work in Africa. You know well that we can find among the emancipated slaves people with religious views and with intellectual capacity equal to the whites, and from these, principally, are we to pick out laborers for the African vineyard. * * * You cannot send two or three only to a colony. In the smallest colony there must be more; there must be enough to form a society, both for the appearance of safety and for that converse for which man was fitted by the organs of speech to pass the time usefully to himself and others."†

The experience of years and the progress of Liberia have only served to illustrate the soundness of these views. European workers for Africa feel more and more the importance of such agencies as the Colonization Society has been instrumental in establishing for civilizing Africa. A writer in the *London Times* for May 31st, 1882, says:

"As I have recently returned from Zanzibar, and can speak from some personal experience, may I be allowed to draw the attention of your readers to an attempt to bring about these results, viz.:—the abolition of the slave trade and civilization of the people—with remarkable success? It is the formation of self-sustaining communities of released slaves in the countries whence they were originally brought by the slave-dealers, in order that by their example and influence they may teach to the surrounding people the advantages of civilization. The sight of a body of men of the same race as themselves, living

* Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger. Vol. II., p. 434

† *African Repository*, Vol. XVI. p. 397.

in their midst, but raised to a higher level by the influence of Christianity and civilization, has naturally produced in them a desire of raising themselves also."

In an able article on "The Evangelization of Africa," in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1879, written by a Roman Catholic Prelate, the writer asks— "Why should not the example given by the American Colonization Society in founding Liberia, be followed by us in other parts of Africa?"

In a lecture, delivered in 1872, in New York, by the same distinguished author, he says:

"We have come to evangelize the colored people in America. But our mission does not terminate with them. We are travelling through America to that great unexplored, unconverted continent of Africa. We have come to gather an army on our way, to conquer Africa for the Cross. God has His designs upon that vast land. * * * * The branch torn away from the parent stem in Africa, by our ancestors, was brought to America—brought away by divine permission, in order that it might be engrafted upon the tree of the Cross. It will return in part to its own soil, not by violence or deportation, but willingly, and borne on the wings of faith and charity."

It is sometimes supposed and asserted that the efforts of the Colonization Society stir up a feeling of unrest among the colored population, and make them dissatisfied with their condition in this country. But this charge is brought only by those who have no idea of the power of race instincts. The descendants of Africa in this country have never needed the stimulus of any organization of white men to direct their attention to the land of their fathers. Just as the idea of a departure from the house of bondage in Egypt was in the minds of the Hebrews long before Moses was born, even when Joseph gave commandment concerning his bones; so long before the formation of the Colonization Society there were aspirations in the breasts of thinking Negroes for a return to the land of their fathers. The first practical Colonizationist was not a white man but a Negro, Paul Cuffee. This man took thirty Negro emigrants from New Bedford in his own vessel to Africa in 1815. The law of God for each race is written on the tablets of their hearts, and no theories will ever obliterate the deep impression or neutralize its influence upon their action; and in the process of their growth they will find or force a way for themselves. Those who are working with or for the race, therefore, should seriously consider in any great movement in their behalf, the steps which the proper representatives

deem it wise to take. "March without the people," said a French deputy, "and you walk into night; their instincts are a finger pointing of providence, always turning toward real benefit."

The Colonization Society was only the instrument of opening a field for the energies of those of the Africans who desired to go and avail themselves of the opportunities there offered. Mr Boswell, in his life of Samuel Johnson, tells us that when the sale of Thrales' Brewery was going forward, Johnson was asked what he really considered to be the value of the property which was to be disposed of. He replied, "We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice." So the founders of this Society looked to the "potentiality" of the few seeds they were planting on the coast of Africa. In their reply to opponents they said: "We are not here simply to send a few Negroes to Africa and to occupy with them a few swampy regions on the margin of a distant country, but we are endeavoring to stimulate for a race and a continent their potentiality of unlimited development."

They assisted a few courageous men to go and plant a colony on those distant and barbarous shores, in days when nearly every body doubted the wisdom and expediency of such a step. Who then could have divined the results? Considering the circumstances of those pioneer settlers and the darkness of the outlook when they started, no man could have believed until he learned it as a matter of history, that those few men could have established an independent nation on that coast. The story of their trials and struggles and conquests would furnish the material for an exciting novel—many portions of it would resemble chapters not from Froude or Hallam but from Thackeray or Scott. The string of episodes in the first thirty years of their history would form the basis of an interesting epic.

Now what is the work thus far accomplished and being accomplished on that coast? If, when those colonists landed on those shores, inexperienced and uneducated ex-slaves as they were, they had had to contend with simple barbarism or the absence of civilization, their task would have been comparatively easy. But they had to deal with tribes demoralized by ages of intercourse with the most abandoned of foreigners—slave traders and pirates, who had taken up their abode at various points of the coast, and had carried on for generations, without interruption, their work of disintegration and destruction. When, therefore, the colonists found themselves in possession of a few miles of territory, they very soon perceived that they had more to do than simply to clear up the land, build and cultivate. They saw that they had to contend not with the simple prejudices of the Aborigines but with

the results of the unhallowed intercourse of European adventurers. But they were brave men. Their spirits, though chastened by the burden of slavery and the sorrows of oppression were never clouded by any doubt in their destiny. They felt themselves able to build up a State, and they set themselves cheerfully to deal with the new and difficult problems which confronted them. Fierce were the struggles in which they had to engage before they succeeded in expelling the pirates from the neighborhood of their settlements. And after they had dislodged these demons in human form, the mischievous consequences of their protracted residence in the land continued and still, to a great extent, continue. In his last message to the Liberian Legislature, the President of the Republic referring to the difficulties at Cape Mount says: "The native wars which have been going on in the vicinity of Cape Mount have now nearly exhausted themselves. These periodical wars are, for the most part, the results of long standing feuds arising from the horrible slave-trade, that dreadful scourge which distinguished the intercourse of the European world with Africa for more than ten generations."

Having secured an undisturbed footing in the land of their fathers, the next step on the part of the colonists was to conciliate the Aborigines and to enlarge the borders of the Colony by purchase from the native lords of the soil. In this way the Colony increased in power and influence, until 1847, when it became a sovereign and independent State. As such it has been acknowledged by all the Powers of Europe and by the United States.

The special work which at this moment claims the attention of the Republic is to push the settlements beyond the sea-board to the elevated and salubrious regions of the interior, and to incorporate the Aborigines, as fast as practicable, into the Republic. Native chiefs are summoned to the Legislature from the different counties and take part in the deliberations; but as yet only those Aborigines who conform to the laws of the Republic as to the tenure of land, are allowed to exercise the elective franchise. All the other questions which press upon independent nations, questions of education, of finance, of commerce, of agriculture, are receiving the careful attention of the people. They feel the importance of making provisions by judicious laws and by proper executive, legislative and judicial management, for the preservation and growth of the State.

In educational matters there is daily noticeable encouraging improvement. We are developing a system of common schools, with a College at the head as a guarantee for their efficiency. The educational work is felt to be of the greatest possible importance; education

not only in its literary and religious forms, but also in its industrial, mechanical, and commercial aspects.

The effort now is to enlarge the operations and increase the influence of the College. The faculty has just been added to by the election of two new Professors in this country, young men of learning and culture, who will sail for their field of labor in a few weeks.

It will be gratifying to the people of Liberia as well as to their friends on this side, to observe how heartily the press of this country, both secular and religious, has endorsed and commended this new move for the advancement of education in that land. The College now contains fifty students in the two departments, and it is hoped that the number will soon increase to hundreds, if we can only get the needed help. We have application for admission to its advantages from numerous youths in various institutions of learning in this country, who wish, on the completion of their course, to labor in Africa. Influential chiefs on the coast and in the interior are also anxious to send their sons; and we shall, before very long, have young men from the powerful tribes in our vicinity—Mandingoes, Foulahs, Veyes, Bassas, Kroos, Greboes.

A female department has also lately been established in connection with this institution, and a Christian lady of education and culture, in this country, longing to labor in the land of her fathers, has been appointed as first Principal. She will sail in a few months.

In financial matters the Republic is hopeful. The public debt is not so large that it cannot, by the reforms now contemplated, be easily managed and placed under such control as to give no inconvenience to the State. There are evidences of an abundance of gold in the territory of the Republic. The precious metal is brought to the coast from various points in the interior. But the government is not anxious to encourage the opening of gold mines. We prefer the slow but sure, though less dazzling process of becoming a great nation by lapse of time, and by the steady growth of internal prosperity—by agriculture, by trade, by proper domestic economy.

In commercial matters there is also everything to encourage. Three lines of steamers from England and Germany, and sailing vessels from the United States visit the Liberian ports regularly for trading purposes. And the natural resources of the Republic have in various portions of it hardly yet been touched. Palm oil, cam-wood, ivory, rubber, gold-dust, hides, beeswax, gum copal, may be produced in unlimited quantities. For the enterprising merchants of this country—colored or white—there is no better field for the investment of pecuniary capital.

The agriculture of the country is rapidly on the increase. Liberia

has been supplying the coffee planters of Ceylon and Brazil with a new and superior kind of coffee for their agricultural industry. The Liberian coffee is considered among the best in the world, and the people are now turning their attention largely to its cultivation. As immigrants arrive from this country, extensive farms under their persevering industry are taking the place of the dense forests. The new settlements pushing out to the rich valleys and fertile slopes of the interior are a marvel to those who a few years ago saw the country in its primitive condition; and to the Negro newcomer from this country in search of a field for his energy and enterprise, there is no picture which, for inspiration and grandeur, can ever equal the sight of these new proprietors of land and these new directors of labor engaged in their absorbing and profitable pursuits. When he sees the thriving villages, the comfortable dwellings, the increasing agriculture, all supervised and controlled by men just like himself, who had only been more fortunate in preceding him by a few years, a feeling of pride and gratification takes possession of him. Like Aeneas, when he witnessed the enterprise of the Tyrian colonists in the building of Carthage, he exclaims

*“O fortunati, quorum jam moenia surgunt.”

But, unlike the mythical author of that exclamation, he feels that he has a part in the rising fortunes of the settlements; that what he beholds is not only what he himself may accomplish, but is the promise and pledge of the future greatness of his adopted country.

The nations of the earth are now looking to Liberia as one of the hopeful spots on that continent. The President of the United States in his last message, referred to the interest which this Government feels in that youngest sister of the great international family. To a deputation from the Colonization Society, which called upon him a year ago, President Arthur said that he “had always taken great interest in the work of the Colonization Society, which was, in his judgment, eminently practical.”

President Gardner, who has for the last five years presided over that little nation, expresses the views entertained by its most enlightened citizens as follows:

“The ship of state which, in 1847, we launched in fear and trembling, is still afloat, with timbers sound, and spars unharmed. The Lone Star of Liberia untarnished is pushing its way eastward, successfully achieving victories of peace even to the slopes of the Niger, gathering willing thousands under its elevating and hopeful folds. The American Colonization Society must feel greatly strengthened—

* Aenead. i. 437.

ed in its work. It has achieved what no other philanthropic agency in modern times has accomplished, and what, perhaps, no nation could have effected, viz: the giving to the Negro an independent home in the land of his fathers, where he has unlimited scope for development and expansion. Had Liberia been the colony of a powerful government, political and commercial jealousies, and the purposes of party spirit, might have prevented the surrender of the colony to the absolute control of the colonists. Hayti had to fight for her independence. It is not practicable for Great Britain to give up Jamaica, or Barbadoes, or Sierra Leone, or Lagos. But the American Colonization Society founded a nation, and continues to strengthen it. So God takes the weak things of the earth to confound the things that are mighty."

In a letter dated at the Palace of Madrid, February 11, 1882, King Alfonso XII, of Spain, writes to the President of Liberia as follows:

"Great and Good Friend,

Desiring to give to you a public testimony of my Royal appreciation and my particular esteem, I have had special pleasure in nominating you Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic. I am pleased by this action also to furnish new proof of the desire which animates me to strengthen more and more, the friendly relations which happily exist between Spain and the Republic of Liberia; and with this motive I repeat to you the assurance of the affection which I entertain towards you, and with which I am, Great and Good Friend,

Your Great and Good Friend,

ALFONSO."

Palace at Madrid, February 11, 1882.

The Republic of Liberia now stands before the world—the realization of the dreams of the founders of the American Colonization Society, and in many respects more than the realization. Its effect upon that great country is not to be estimated solely by the six hundred miles of coast which it has brought under civilized law. A sea of influence has been created, to which rivulets and large streams are attracted from the distant interior; and up those streams, for a considerable distance, a tide of regeneration continually flows. Far beyond the range of the recognized limits of Liberia, hundreds of miles away from the coast, I have witnessed the effects of American civilization; not only in the articles of American manufactures which I have been surprised to see in those remote districts, but in the intelligible use of the English language, which I have encountered in the far inland re-

gions, all going out from Liberia. None can calculate the wide-spreading results of a single channel of wholesome influence. Travellers in Syria tell us that Damascus owes its fertility and beauty to one single stream, the river Abana. Without that little river the charm and glory of Damascus would disappear. It would be a city in a desert. So the influence of Liberia, insignificant as it may seem, is the increasing source of beauty and fertility, of civilization and progress, to West and Central Africa.

As time has gone on and the far reaching plans of the Society have been developed, its bitterest opponents among the whites have relaxed their opposition. They see more and more that the idea which gave rise to it, had more than a temporary or provisional importance; that as long as there are Christian Negroes in this land who may do a civilizing work in Africa, and who desire to go thither, so long will this colonization enterprise be a necessary and beneficent agency.

Colored men of intelligence are also taking a more comprehensive view of the question. The colored people in various parts of the country are not only asserting their independence of party trammels but are taking higher ground with regard to their relations to Africa. The Colonization Society no longer stands between them and the land of their fathers as a dividing agency; no longer the gulf that separates, but for many the bridge that connects. Liberia is producing the elements, which, if they do not to the minds of the thinking colored people, vindicate the methods of some colonizationists in days gone by, amply justify the policy of the Colonization Society. The leading men of color are recognizing the distinction between Liberia as an independent nation, claiming their respect and support, and the Colonization Society, which, from their stand-point, contemplated their expatriation.

Your speaker has had the honor of being listened to on the various occasions on which, recently, he has spoken in this city, by full houses composed of the most intelligent classes of the colored population, who a few years ago would not have thought of attending any meeting which had the remotest connection with Liberia. He has also had the gratifying privilege of being the guest for several days at Uniontown of the leading colored man of the United States, better known than any other Negro in both hemispheres; and this address was written under his hospitable roof and, perhaps, on the same table on which, in years gone by, had been forged those thunderbolts which he hurled with so much power and effect against Colonization; but, *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. The times are changed and we are changed with them.

The dawn of a new day in the history of the colored people is not only inspiring them with new views, but bringing forward new actors or leaders. It is not that those who are coming forward are superior to those who have passed away or are passing away. No ; the giants of former years—the Wards and Garnets and Douglasses—can never be surpassed or even reproduced. They were the peculiar product of their times. But it is, that the present times require different instruments, and leaders are arising with different purposes and different aspirations. I saw in large letters in a prominent part of Mr. Frederick Douglass's residence the scriptural injunction, "Live peaceably with all men;" a fitting motto, I thought, for the soldier who, after the hard fought battle and the achievement of the victory, has laid down his arms. The motto in the days of Douglass's greatest activity was, "Fight the good fight." Now the days of peace have come. The statesman's office comes after the soldier's. *Cedant arma togæ*. The Negro youth as a result of the training which he is now so generously receiving in the schools, will seek to construct States. He will aspire after feats of statesmanship, and Africa will be the field to which he will look for the realization of his desires. Bishop Turner, of the African M. E. Church, who enjoys exceptional opportunities for knowing the feelings of the colored people of this country, said in a newspaper article published a few days ago:

"There never was a time when the colored people were more concerned about Africa in every respect, than at present. In some portions of the country it is the topic of conversation, and if a line of steamers were started from New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah or Charleston, they would be crowded to density every trip they made to Africa. There is a general unrest and a wholesale dissatisfaction among our people in a number of sections of the country to my certain knowledge, and they sigh for conveniences to and from the Continent of Africa. Something has to be done, matters cannot go on as at present, and the remedy is thought by tens of thousands to be a NEGRO NATIONALITY. This much the history of the world establishes, that races either fossilized, oppressed or degraded, must emigrate before any material change takes place in their civil, intellectual or moral status; otherwise extinction is the consequence." *

The general practice among superficial politicians and irresponsible colored journalists in this country is to ignore and deprecate the craving for the fatherland among the Negro population. But nothing is clearer to those who know anything of race instincts and tendencies than that this craving is a permanent and irrepressible im-

* Christian Recorder, Jan. 4. 1883.

pulse. For some reason the American Government has never seen its way clear to give any practical recognition to these aspirations. In vain, apparently, does the American Colonization Society from year to year present the cries and petitions of thousands and hundreds of thousands who yearn for a home in the land of their fathers. Individual philanthropists may admit that such cries deserve respectful sympathy, but the Government takes no note of them. It must be stated, however, that the Government is ever ready to extend assistance to Liberia, and on the ground, partly, as often urged in their diplomatic correspondence, that Liberia is to be the future home of thousands of American citizens of African descent.

Has not the time now come when an earnest and united effort should be made by all sections of this great country to induce the Government to assist the thousands who are longing to betake themselves to those vast and fertile regions to which they are directed by the strongest impulses that have ever actuated the movements of humanity? While it is true that there are causes of dissatisfaction with his position in this country on the part of the Negro, still he will be carried to Africa by a higher impulse than that which brings millions to this country from Europe. Mr. Bright has said: "There are streams of emigration flowing towards America, and much of this arises from the foolishness of European peoples and European governments," and he quotes from Mr. Bancroft the statement that "the history of the colonization of America is the history of the crimes of Europe."

No natural impulses bring the European hither--artificial or external causes move him to emigrate. The Negro is drawn to Africa by the necessities of his nature.

We do not ask that all the colored people should leave the United States and go to Africa. If such a result were possible it is not, for the present at least, desirable, certainly it is not indispensable. For the work to be accomplished much less than one-tenth of the six millions would be necessary. "In a return from exile, in the restoration of a people," says George Eliot, "the question is not whether certain rich men will choose to remain behind, but whether there will be found worthy men who will choose to lead the return. Plenty of prosperous Jews remained in Babylon when Ezra marshalled his band of forty thousand, and began a new glorious epoch in the history of his race, making the preparation for that epoch in the history of the world, which has been held glorious enough to be dated from forevermore."

There are Negroes enough in this country to join in the return--

descendants of Africa enough, who are faithful to the instincts of the race, and who realize their duty to their fatherland. I rejoice to know that here where the teachings of generations have been to disparage the race, there are many who are faithful, there are men and women who will go, who have a restless sense of homelessness which will never be appeased until they stand in the great land where their forefathers lived; until they catch glimpses of the old sun, and moon and stars, which still shine in their pristine brilliancy upon that vast domain; until from the deck of the ship which bears them back home they see visions of the hills rising from the white margin of the continent, and listen to the breaking music of the waves—the exhilarating laughter of the sea as it dashes against the beach. These are the elements of the great restoration. It may come in our own life time. It may be our happiness to see those rise up who will formulate progress for Africa—embody the ideas which will reduce our social and political life to order; and we may, before we die, thank God that we have seen His salvation; that the Negro has grasped with a clear knowledge his meaning in the world's vast life—in politics—in science—in religion.

I say it is gratifying to know that there are Negroes of this country who will go to do this great work—cheerfully go and brave the hardships and perils necessary to be endured in its accomplishment. These will be among the redeemers of Africa. If they suffer they will suffer devotedly, and if they die, they will die well. And what is death for the redemption of a people? History is full of examples of men who have sacrificed themselves for the advancement of a great cause—for the good of their country. Every man who dies for Africa—if it is necessary to die—adds to Africa a new element of salvation, and hastens the day of her redemption. And when God lets men suffer and gives them to pain and death, it is not the abandoned, it is not the worst or the guiltiest, but the best and the purest, whom He often chooses for His work, for they will do it best. Spectators weep and wonder; but the sufferers themselves accept the pain in the joy of doing redemptive work, and rise out of lower levels to the elevated regions of those nobler spirits—the glorious army of martyrs—who rejoice that they are counted worthy to die for men.

The nation now being reared in Africa by the returning exiles from this country will not be a reproduction of this. The restoration of the Negro to the land of his fathers, will be the restoration of a race to its original integrity, to itself; and working by itself, for itself and from itself, it will discover the methods of its own development, and they will not be the same as the Anglo-Saxon methods.

In Africa there are no physical problems to be confronted upon the solution of which human comfort and even human existence depend. In the temperate regions of the earth there are ever recurring problems, first physical or material, and then intellectual, which press for solution and cannot be deferred without peril.

It is this constant pressure which has developed the scientific intellect and the thoughtfulness of the European. Africa can afford to hand over the solution of these problems to those who, driven by the exigencies of their circumstances, must solve them or perish. And when they are solved we shall apply the results to our purposes, leaving us leisure and taste for the metaphysical and spiritual. Africa will be largely an agricultural country. The people, when assisted by proper impulse from without—and they need this help just as all other races have needed impulse from without—will live largely in contact with nature. The Northern races will take the raw materials from Africa and bring them back in such forms as shall contribute to the comfort and even elegance of life in that country; while the African, in the simplicity and purity of rural enterprises, will be able to cultivate those spiritual elements in humanity which are suppressed, silent and inactive under the pressure and exigencies of material progress. He will find out, not under pressure but in an entirely normal and natural way, what his work is to be.

I do not anticipate for Africa any large and densely crowded cities. For my own taste I cannot say that I admire these agglomerations of humanity. For me man has marred the earth's surface by his cities. "God made the country and man made the town."

It is the cities which have furnished the deadliest antagonisms to prophets and reformers. The prophets and apostles are nurtured in the Nazareths and Bethlehems of the world. I cherish the feeling that in Africa there will never be any Jerusalem or Rome or Athens or London; but I have a strong notion that the Bethlehems and Nazareths will spring up in various parts of the continent. In the solitudes of the African forests, where the din of western civilization has never been heard, I have realized the saying of the poet that the "Groves were God's first temples." I have felt that I stood in the presence of the Almighty; and the trees and the birds and the sky and the air have whispered to me of the great work yet to be achieved on that continent. I trod lightly through those forests, for I felt there was "a spirit in the woods." And I could understand how it came to pass that the prophets of a race—the great reformers who have organized states and elevated peoples, received their inspiration on mountains, in caves, in grottoes. I could understand something of the power

which wrought upon Sakya Muni under the trees of India, upon Numa Pompilius in the retreat of the Nymph Egeria, upon Mohammed in the silent cave; upon Martin Luther, Xavier and Ignatius Loyola in the cloisters. One of the sweetest of American poets—Whittier—in his poem on the Quaker Meeting, pictures the beauty and instructive power of unbroken stillness—

"And so I find it well to come
For deeper rest to this still room,
For here the habit of the soul
Feels less the outer world's control.

"And from the silence multiplied
By these still forms on either side,
The world that time and sense have known
Falls off and leaves us God alone,

"So to the calmly gathered thought
The innermost of truth is taught,
The mystery, dimly understood,
That love of God is love of good."

It is under such circumstances that the African will gather inspiration for his work. He will grow freely, naturally, unfolding his powers in a completely healthy progress.

The world needs such a development of the Negro on African soil. He will bring as his contribution the softer aspects of human nature. The harsh and stern fibre of the Caucasian races needs this milder element. The African is the feminine; and we must not suppose that this is of least importance in the ultimate development of humanity. "We are apt," says Matthew Arnold, "to account amiability weak and hardness strong," but even if it were so, there are forces, as George Sands says truly and beautifully, "there are forces of weakness, of docility, of attractiveness or of suavity, which are quite as real as the forces of vigor, of encroachment, of violence, of brutality."*

I see that Michelet claims for France this feminine character among the nations. Speaking of Jeanne d'Arc, he says: "It was fit that the savior of France should be a woman. France herself is a woman. She has the fickleness of the sex but also its amiable gentleness, its facile and charming pity, and the excellence of its first impulses."

The beauty of woman is not in cowardly yielding or careless servility. An English poet has embodied in a few striking and beautiful lines, a description of woman's sphere and power;

*Nineteenth Century, June, 1881.

" I saw her upon nearer view
 A spirit, yet a woman too;
 Her household motions light and free,
 And steps of virgin liberty;
 A countenance in which did meet
 Sweet records, promises as sweet;
 A perfect woman nobly planned
 To warn, to comfort, to command,
 And yet a spirit still, and bright
 With something of an angel light "

Such will be the African's place when he rises to the proper sphere of his work. France does not occupy that place. That nation may at times wear woman's dress, and go about with light and sportive air, but beneath those charming habiliments beats the same stern and masculine heart that we discern in other European races.

It was a proof of the great confidence felt by Mrs. Stowe in the idea of African Colonization—in the mighty results to be achieved through its means for Africa and for humanity—that she sends two of the most striking characters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to Africa; one, the bright, the enlightened, the cultivated George Harris, goes to Liberia. And never were more forcible reasons given for the emigration of persons of color from this country to that Republic than are presented in the able and eloquent letter which she makes him write to set forth his reasons for emigrating. His arguments are pathetic and unanswerable.

George Harris's letter at least shows what a cultivated Anglo-Saxon and an abolitionist feels ought to be the views of an educated and cultivated colored American; and supplies a hint to those colored writers and speakers who amuse themselves with agitating questions of amalgamation.

Mrs. Stowe speaks of Liberia as "the refuge which the providence of God has provided in Africa." But she does not approve an indiscriminate emigration to Africa. In arguing against it she says wisely,

"To fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperienced, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attend the inception of new enterprises. Let the church of the north receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America."

Mrs. Stowe's idea does not seem to be that after they have risen to a certain stage of progress they should be absorbed into the great American nation. Her plan is exactly that of the American Colonization Society—to "assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America." The attention of those who look to an ultimate American destiny for the American Negro should be called to these utterances of an acknowledged friend and able defender of the race. Mrs. Stowe's wonderful novel was not only the harbinger of emancipation, but the harbinger also of the vast colonization which will sooner or later take place. And that friends of the African should have seized upon her words in the one capacity and not in the other, can only be explained by the fact that as an angel of Abolition the nation was ready for her; but to receive her as an angel of Colonization, it is only now in the process of preparation.

Soon after the close of the war it was the favorite cry of some that the Colonization Society had done its work and should be dropped. But that cry has been effectually hushed by the increasing light of experience, and under the louder cries of the thousands and tens of thousands, who in various parts of the country are asking for aid to reach the land of their fathers. Both white and colored are now recognizing the fact that the Society with its abundant knowledge, with its organized plans, is an indispensable machinery for the diffusion of that special information about Africa of which the American people are so generally destitute, and for the inoffensive creation among the Negro portion of the population of those enlightened opinions about the land of their fathers, and their duty to that land which will lead some at least of the anxious thousands to enter upon it with intelligence and efficiency.

There is evidently, at this moment, no philanthropic institution before the American public that has more just and reasonable claims upon private and official benevolence than the American Colonization Society. And the Christian sentiment of the country, as I gather it from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, is largely in favor of giving substantial and generous aid to that struggling Christian Republic in West Africa, the power of which, it is conceded, it should be the pride of this nation, as it is its commercial interest, to increase and perpetuate.





AFRICA FOR AFRICANS:

BEING

THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE.

DELIVERED AT THE

SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

HELD IN

FOUNDRY METHODIST E. CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C..

SUNDAY, JANUARY 13, 1884.

BY

REV. OTIS H. TIFFANY, D. D.

Published by Request of the Society.

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,
1884.

LETTERS.

Colonization Rooms.

Washington, D. C., January. 17, 1884.

Dear Sir:

At the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society held on the 15th inst., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

“Resolved: That the sincere thanks of the Society be tendered to the Rev. Otis H. Tiffany, D. D., for his able, eloquent and appropriate Discourse delivered at our Sixty-Seventh Anniversary, and that a copy of it be requested for publication.”

Cordially uniting in the Society's expression of gratitude and appreciation, and looking for an early compliance with its request, believe me,

Truly, and with great respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

W.M. COPPINGER, Secretary.

*Rev. Otis H. Tiffany, D. D.,
New York.*

New York, January 21, 1884.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of 17th inst., announcing the action of the Society at its Annual Meeting and requesting a copy of the Address delivered at the 67th Anniversary.

I highly appreciate the compliment thus paid me, but reluctantly yield to the request to print because my effort was but very little more than a gathering of materials for information from others and had so little of original suggestion. If, however, it may be thus accepted, it is at your service.

Very respectfully,

O. H. TIFFANY.

*Mr. William Coppinger,
Sec: Am; Colonization Society,
Washington, D. C.*

AFRICA FOR AFRICANS.

DISCOURSE.

MR. PRESIDENT:—

MY earliest recollections are connected with the American Colonization Society. I remember, with interest, that when a mere child, there came to our home in Baltimore, as a present from a Western merchant, a slave boy. My father's conscientious convictions would not permit him to own a slave; the peculiarities of the boy made it undesirable that he should be a citizen at large; and, consequently, he became one of the first who went out to the Liberia Colony. Occasional reports from him, and visits from those who voyaged between this country and Liberia, kept the Society in constant recollection, and have largely been the occasion of the personal interest I have taken in its history and success. These things happened about the time when the Colonization Society was being assailed and denounced by those who were termed "Abolitionists" in this country. And though it was constantly asserted; "The Colonization Society is not a Missionary Society, nor a Society for the suppression of the slave trade, nor a Society for the improvement of the blacks, nor a Society for the abolition of slavery: it is simply a Society for the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa," yet it attracted to itself the scorn and invective of many who were engaged in the anti-slavery reformation. According to his biographer, it was about this period that Mr. Garrison returned to this country from England, bringing with him a protest against the colonization scheme, signed by such men as Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, and O'Connell. In the days of which I am speaking, the Colonization Society was completely misunderstood both in its attitude and its aims—so completely that many persons could rejoice in hearing of the prayer of "Father Snowdon," as he was called, a Negro preacher of Boston, who, in his fervent and earnest utterances, prayed: "Oh God, we pray Thee that that seven-headed and ten-horned monster, the Colonization Society, may be smitten through and through with the fiery darts of truth, and tormented as the whale between the sword fish and the thrasher."

Originating in a most benevolent purpose, the Society has done great good in its long period of service. For sixty-three years it has

given continuous aid to the emigration of persons of the colored race to Africa, the whole number thus going to Liberia being 15,655. Besides this, 5,722 recaptured Africans were, through the efforts of the Society, enabled to settle in Liberia, making 21,377 persons to whom the Society has afforded homes in Africa. One hundred and seventy-eight voyages of emigrants have been made without wreck or loss of life, and the movement is continuous, notwithstanding the bettered condition of the colored people in this country as the result of the acts of emancipation, Liberia, indeed, is now more promising and prosperous than it ever has been. The general advance in the condition of the population has been notable and marked. President Gardner, in his last Annual Message, said: "We have been blessed, during the year, with health throughout our communities, and the earth has yielded more than her usual supplies. The rice crop has been abundant, and the coffee trees have also afforded an unusual yield. There has been a manifest improvement in our relations with the Aborigines. Roads long closed have been opened. The native wars which have been going on in the vicinity of Cape Mount have nearly ceased. These piratical wars are for the most part the result of long-standing feuds arising from the horrible slave trade, and they will be effectually suppressed by the progress of civilization, and the increase of wealth among the people. Friendly communications continue between this country and Ibrahimi Sissi, King of Medina, who has been assiduous in his efforts to open the road for trade."

So that the Republic of Liberia stands before the world an embodiment and realization of the dreams of its founders.

Very early in the history of this country, the condition of the free blacks awakened anxiety and caused discussion as to measures of safety and relief. The earliest movement of which I have knowledge was made in 1777, by a discussion in the Legislature of the State of Virginia. Subsequently, when Mr. Monroe was Governor of that State, he was instructed to enter into correspondence with President Jefferson upon the means of procuring an asylum for the free blacks beyond the limits of the United States. President Jefferson, approving the suggestion, instructed Mr. King, then representing this Government in Great Britain, to attempt a negotiation with a company which had effected a settlement in Sierra Leone; but the effort was without practical results. Subsequently a proposition was made to secure from the Portuguese a location in South America. The General Assembly of Virginia in 1816 embodied the facts of their previous efforts and their judgment of what ought to be the future effort in this direction, in a preamble and resolution, setting forth the fact that the efforts hitherto made had been frustrated, and that a loca-

tion ought to be obtained "upon the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the North Pacific, or at some other place not within any of the United States, or under the control of the Government of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as now are free and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within the limits of this Commonwealth." In 1825, Mr. Tucker, a Senator from Virginia, offered in the United States Senate a resolution, the object of which was to ascertain through the War Department the probable expense of extinguishing the Indian title "to a portion of the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains that may be suitable for colonizing the free people of color." It will thus appear that the State of Virginia was the first to move in the direction of the work which the Society has been accomplishing. Two years after Virginia, action was taken by the States of Maryland and Tennessee; in 1824 formal action was taken by the States of Ohio and Connecticut, in 1827 by the State of Kentucky, and subsequently thereto by almost all the States. In place of the results thus anticipated and desired, and expected to be reached by the action of Government, the Republic of Liberia was founded by Negroes from the United States without government aid or authority. The eighty-eight persons who sailed from New York in 1820, and who landed first at the British colony of Sierra Leone, dissatisfied with the opening there, sailed South until they succeeded in getting a foothold 260 miles southeast of Sierra Leone, and there acquired territory by treaty and by purchase.

Up to 1847, the American Colonization Society fostered them, and appointed their Governors. In that year they declared themselves free and independent. Great Britain was the first to acknowledge them, and she was soon followed by the other European Powers. Our Government did not recognize the independence of Liberia until 1862, though for many years previously a commercial agency had been established there. By such slow and halting steps have we advanced in the payment of our indebtedness to a land that in all periods of history has attracted the attention of the world.

From the earliest times there has been a fascination in its story. Its mysterious river, mysterious both in its source and its overflow, has associations which carry us to the beginnings of all human history. On its banks, in the sepulchres of forgotten kings, stand the proudest monuments of human vanity. There the sphynx, "grand in loneliness, imposing in magnitude, impressive in the mystery that hangs over its story," still sits gazing over and beyond the present far into the past, sole remnant of empires whose creation and destruction it has witnessed, of nations whose birth, progress and decay

it has noticed in five thousand slow revolving years. This interest continues all through the period of the Israelitish captivity down to the time when hungry nations were fed by its harvests, and its fields were the graneries of Ancient Rome. These waters have flashed with light under the oars of the galleys of Sesostris, and reflected a marvelous beauty from the barges of Cleopatra. The effort to trace their sources has brought Egypt on the North into commercial relations with the dwellers in the centre of the great Continent, and thus those we have deemed so different a people have their links binding them to the dwellers in the interior, and there mingles with our feeling of veneration a sense of indebtedness well expressed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who says: "For the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon, Menes and Nimrod—both descendants of Ham—led the way and acted as pioneers of mankind, in treading the fields of art, literature and science. Alphabetic writing astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, crockery: textile industries, seem, all of them, to have had their origin in one or other of these countries. The beginnings may have been humble enough. We may laugh at the rude picture writing, the uncouth brick pyramid, the coarse fabric, the homely and illshapen instruments, as they present themselves to our notice in the remains of these ancient nations; but they are really worthier of our admiration than our ridicule. The inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race, and mankind at the present day lies under infinite obligations to the genius of these early ages."

We know well that "there was a time when the whole of the northern belt of Africa was bright with Christian light; when Cyprian and Augustine knelt and prayed and wept and suffered and ruled in the Churches there. There was a time, when with the Church's rule, temporal prosperity abounded; when that part of North Africa almost rivalled Italy in being the great granery and store-house of the world; when its rich fields, its abundant pastures, its beautiful woods, furnished the mistress of the world all that she needed for her pomp and luxury."

Even Central Africa boasted of its antiquity, and if the legends tell the truth, when "Orpheus was charming the forests into life, and Hesiod was tracing the genealogies of the gods, and weaving nature and time into song, and Homer was singing the wars of the Greeks, and the wanderings of Ulysses, then the bards of Nigretia were celebrating the exploits of their heroes and publishing the records of their renown in the ears of listening kings and admiring nations."

Africa is to-day the object of more interest on the part of a larger number of people than any other quarter of the globe. England, France, Portugal, Germany and Italy are attempting to obtain titles to the country. England has made annexation of the coast lying adjacent to her colony of Sierra Leone; France is forcing her way on the Senegal and toward the head-waters of the Niger: she threatens to annex the coast from the Gaboon to the Congo, some 250 miles, and is running her lines on the Upper Congo. Her Chamber of Deputies has granted the De Brazza Mission, by a vote of 449 to 3, a credit of a million and a quarter of francs. The Portuguese Government has appointed explorers and examined the Congo country, and assumes to exercise control over all the territory at the mouth of the Congo. The German Reichstag has increased its annual appropriation for the exploration of Africa. Italy has despatched a party to Abyssinia for geographical and mercantile purposes. She has also concluded treaties which promise to make Assab a centre of commerce. The Sultan of Morocco has authorized Spain to take possession of Santa Cruz del Mar, and the Sultan of Zanzibar has purchased six superior steamers to constitute a regular coast service, in the interest of commerce and for the suppression of the slave trade. The International African Association, which owes its origin to the philanthropic initiative of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, has received large subscriptions and pushed forward exploring expeditions to start and equip the line of hospitable and scientific stations which are to bound the East and West coast, and form a civilizing girdle around Central Africa. And the results following the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley and De Brazza are attracting the attention of the civilized world. What was a "Dark Continent," by the indomitable energy of these explorers seems likely to prove the richest quarter of the globe. Not only does the land produce, with slight persuasion of tillage, admirable crops of cotton and coffee, but the soil is rich in diamonds on its southern coast, and in iron on its northern. Captain Burton has asserted that he knows nothing to equal the prodigious wealth of the land, even in California, or in the Brazils. "Gold dust is panned by native women from the sands of the sea shore. Gold spangles glitter after showers in the streets of Axim. Gold is yielded by the lumps of yellow swish that rivet the wattel walls of hut and hovel."

The capitalists of the world are alive to its wondrous possibilities. The President of the United States, rightly estimating the magnitude of the political and commercial questions centering about the Congo, said in his recent message: "The rich and populous valley of the Congo is being opened to commerce by the Society called

'The International African Association,' of which the King of the Belgians is the President, and a citizen of the United States the chief executive officer. Large tracts of territory have been ceded to the Society by the native chiefs, roads have been opened, steamboats placed on the river, and the nucleus of States established at twenty-two stations, under one flag. The objects of the Society are philanthropic. It does not aim at permanent political control, but seeks the neutrality of the valley. The United States cannot be indifferent to this work or to the interests of their citizens involved in it. It may become advisable for us to co-operate with other commercial powers in promoting the rights of trade and residence in the Congo Valley free from the interference or political control of any nation."

While these topics are all of general interest, the maintenance and development and strengthening of the State of Liberia, which came into existence under the fostering care of this Society, demands our special attention; and it becomes us to ascertain, if it be possible, by what process the Liberian Republic can be made sure and its influence widened, so that not only its present inhabitants may remain in safety with the opportunities of advancing commerce and increasing civilization, but may continuously in all the future, furnish an asylum for the oppressed and a home for the exile. She has now reached a period in her history when she seems able to bear and sorely to need an influx of enlightened descendants of African parentage from the land of their exile. An important addition to the population is demanded, if she is to extend her influence and push her free institutions and hold her own against the encroachments of foreigners. The natives in the interior seem to be anxious for the planting of civilized settlements on their hills and in their valleys. Their characteristics seem to have been misunderstood. Stanley, in a private letter written in July of last year, goes on to say that those whom, in his book "Across the Dark Continent" he called the "infuriates of Arebu" appealed to him to stop an internecine war, submitted to his arbitration, and paid the fine he imposed.

These facts and others to which attention has been called, give to the suggestions of President Gardner, in his last Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of Liberia, an increased weight and importance. He says:

"The importance of increasing our friendly intercourse with the powerful tribes of the country is a matter that cannot claim too much of our attention. So important do I regard our relation to these our brethren, and so desirous am I of seeing this vast aboriginal population share with us the rights, the privileges, and the joys of civiliza-

tion and a Christian government, thus giving permanency to the republican institutions on our coast, that I consider it really the greatest work of Liberia at present to pursue such a policy as will cement into one mass the many tribes about us, and bring them under the moulding influence of our laws and religion."

In this suggestion there is practical wisdom, and it seems to me that the permanency and quiet of Liberia depend upon wisely adopting such a policy. The late Lord Bishop of London, in speaking, in 1858, of the disasters which overtook the Christian Church in Northern Africa, attributes them to the fact that that Northern belt of Africa was content to be a belt. "She thought that the light of the Gospel had been given to her for herself instead of for others; she did not understand the great benefit which would come back to her as the inevitable reaction of aggressive movement. She stood on the border of the desert and made no sign to the heathen around her, and did not try to gather them in. She was content to be an Italian offshoot, instead of striving to become a living branch. Making no effort there was no reaction, no growth, no development. A wall of darkness hid the light of Christian truth; a wall of barbarism lay beyond the district of civilization, which Christianity had so abundantly watered. The earthquake began to heave the land; there was darkness overhead; there were rumblings beneath; the people were terrified, but did not heed the lesson. They went on in their dream of having a church for themselves, and their religion for themselves, never seeing or knowing that they were to receive by imparting, and to grow by the reaction of their own activities. The danger thickened, the day darkened, and so when the Mohammedans swept as God's avengers over the land, this neglect became the instrument of vengeance. They had no one to fall back on; there was no gathering of nations or of tribes, who, converted by their teachings, might have checked the Mohammedan invasion. The wave of invasion rolled on; church after church was uprooted, city after city was destroyed, until the light of the Cross was hid, and the Crescent alone was triumphant. The failure to develop strength became weakness; the attempt to confine the light occasioned darkness, and so great has been the darkness, that for centuries they have had no Christianity except as it has been carried to them by the missionary zeal of others."

If Liberia is to maintain the foothold she has gained, and to develop into a commercial State, it must be more than a mere strip of sea-border. It must send back its arms of influence, and its reaches of authority toward the interior, where, by mingling with the native tribes and exhibiting to them the superiority of Christian civilization,

they may be attached as friends and be connected as allies ; and thus the movement for a State may become the occasion for a religion, and commerce and friendly intercourse, which are essential for protection, may open the way for the enlargement of religious principles, and the development of eternal hopes.

An officer of this Society, in a recent publication, has announced Africa to be a virgin market, saying "that religion and philanthropy have something to do with the interest that the European world has of late years taken in the exploration of Africa, is unquestionable. That Continent may now be regarded as the only virgin market of any extent remaining for the rapidly increasing surplus everywhere of manufacturing industry. If the United States do not at present feel the want of such a market as much as other nations, the time will come when they will no longer have the advantage of England and France and Germany in this respect ; and they should not forget that they have a foothold in Africa which no other nation enjoys. From the mouth of the Mediterranean southward to the English settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, there is no one spot that offers greater facilities for introducing trade and commerce into the interior of the Continent than Liberia. Slowly, but steadily and surely, a nation is growing up there, whose sympathies, if we retain them, will give us practically the benefit of a colony, without the responsibilities of a colonial system—a nation that at the end of 63 years is further advanced than were many, if not all the colonies of America, after the same lapse of time. Surely such a nation is not to be regarded with indifference, but may be considered as no unimportant factor in the commercial and manufacturing future of the United States, to say nothing of its peculiar fitness for conferring upon Africa the benefits of Christian civilization."

Professor Blyden, the able President of the College of Liberia, said, in his Address last year, "People who talk of the civilizing influence of mere trade on that Continent, do so because they are unacquainted with the facts ; nor can missionaries alone do the work. We do not object to trade, and we would give every possible encouragement to the noble efforts of the missionaries. We would open the country everywhere to commercial intercourse ; we would give everywhere hospitable access to traders. Place your trade factories at every prominent point along the coast, and even let them be planted on the banks of the rivers ; let them draw the rich products from remote districts. We would say also, send the missionary to every tribe and every village ; multiply throughout the country the evangelizing agencies ; line the banks of the rivers with preachers of

righteousness—penetrate the jungles with those holy pioneers—crown the mountain tops with your churches, and fill the valleys with your schools. No single agency is sufficient to cope with the multifarious needs of the mighty work. But the indispensable agency *is the colony*. Groups of Christian and civilized settlements must in every instance bring up the rear if the results of that work are to be widespread, beneficial and enduring."

It is depressing to have to feel that notwithstanding all that has been done by missionary effort, but limited success has attended Christian endeavor. Bishop Nicholson has asserted: "That the Roman Catholic Missionaries tried it for 214 years, and have not left a vestage of their influence behind; that the Moravians, beginning in 1736, tried it for 34 years, making five attempts, at a cost of 11 lives, and did nothing; Englishmen tried it in 1792, with a loss of a hundred lives in two years; the London, Edinboro' and Glasgow Societies tried it in 1797, but their stations were extinguished in three years, and five or six missionaries died. Many other missionary attempts were made before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed. Several Protestant missions there have done a good work, but it has been at a cost of many lives. *White men cannot live and labor there.*"

And yet in many parts of the country there have been partial successes. The mixed and difficult problems which have embarrassed the missionary work in the interior lake country have been apparently solved. The successes have been purchased, however, at a sacrifice of health and life, as well as by the endurance of toil and privation. Sixteen years ago heathenism and barbarism prevailed in the Niger Mission, where now 4,000 are under Christian instruction, and where a king has ordered his people to observe the Sabbath. Steamers have been built in Europe for the express purpose of carrying the glad tidings, and are now sailing on the rivers Niger, Congo and Zambezi and lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. American missions have been planted and earnestly prosecuted by the American Board, by the Presbyterian Board, and by the Protestant Episcopal Board, as well as by the Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A Methodist Church was formed on board ship in the first company of Liberian emigrants who sailed in 1820, of which David Coker was pastor. In 1824 the Missionary Board proposed to send a white missionary when a suitable person should be found. In 1832 Melville B. Cox was appointed to the work. He was filled with missionary zeal. He said, "It is the height of my ambition and highest vision of my life to lay my bones in the soil of Africa. If I can only do this, I will establish a connection between Africa and the Church at home that shall never be broken till Africa is redeemed." Arriving at Monrovia March, 1833, he entered vigorously upon his

work in regulating the existing Methodist Church according to the Discipline, in establishing Sunday-schools, and planning additional mission stations. He perished of the fever July 21st, of the same year. Twenty lie beside him in the little missionary burying ground at Monrovia. Since then others have been sent out, and two Episcopal visits of supervision have been made. Bishop Scott going in 1853, and Bishop Gilbert Haven in 1876. Good has no doubt been accomplished, but the work has grown slowly. Many heroic lives have been sacrificed, and much money has been expended in it, and the results are not encouraging.—(*Miss. Report, M. E. Ch.*)

The Missionary Bishop of Cape Palmas, writes: "Four out of seven of the white missionaries in this jurisdiction will return to America for their health this year. White men must grow fewer and fewer in proportion to the workers from among the Negro brethren, until the whole shall be turned over to the people whose home is here." "We cannot count on more than three years in the field of every four of the white missionary's term of service, and of these three years there are large deductions to be made of the time one is sick here."

The difficulty largely lies in the fact of the unhealthfulness of the climate. The excessive luxury of the vegetation along the river banks raises them above their proper level, and cuts of drainage from the plains; and this must probably always be, necessarily preventing the doing of this work by white men. But it is a work that must be done. The Spring Hill Baptist Association of Alabama, (*colored*), has said, "To remain dormant and leave it for God to use other means and others as agents in the evangelization of Africa is to be in every manner possible criminal, and wholly recreant to the most sacred trust committed to our care." Also, the same Association calls attention to the fact that God always redeems a people by members of the people to be redeemed. When He would emancipate the Jews, Moses is selected; and all through history this truth stands out most prominently. Ethiopia will never stretch out her hands to God until Ethiopians shall have been used as agents. "Africa is to be redeemed through the instrumentality of Africans."

Rev. Dr. Henry M. Turner, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, says, through the *Christian Recorder*:

"There never was a time when the colored people were more concerned about Africa in every respect than at the present time. In all portions of the country it is the topic of conversation;" and he believes "that if a line of steamers were started from New Orleans, Savannah, or Charleston, they would be crowded to density every trip they made to Africa. There is a general unrest and a wholesome dissatisfaction among our people, in a broad section of the land, to

my certain knowledge, and they sigh for conveyances to and from the Continent of Africa. Something has to be done." And this feeling seems to attach itself to the American character. The yearning for home would seem to have outlasted all the years of exile, and the exactions of bondage. For if Bishop Turner is not mistaken, the same traits are exhibited now and here as were observed by Mungo Park in his early visits. "The poor Negro," he says, "feels the desire in its full force. No water is sweet to him but what is drawn from his own well, and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade as the Tabba tree of his own hamlet. When war compels him to leave the delightful spot where he first drew breath, and seek safety in some other country, the time is spent in talking of the land of his ancestors, and no sooner is peace restored than he turns his back on the strangers, and hastens to rebuild his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke arising from his native village."

It may be that even the harsh rigors of slavery and the effects of a protracted bondage have not obliterated from the minds of the descendants of Africans the feelings which were instinct in their fathers; and if, having acquired freedom, they shall use that freedom in acquiring citizenship in the land of their fathers, the skies will smile above them more sweetly there than they can here, and the soil of Africa shall be to them a sacred soil. There they may lay the foundation of an empire in silence and in peace, and in far distant ages it may stand amid the gloom of that now desolate Continent a lighthouse of cheer and beneficence, a monument of praise immortal and beautiful as the stars.

If the Republic can be strengthened by reciprocated fraternity with the tribes and nations that are about it, and if it be maintained in purity and in enlightenment by Christian doctrine and by Christian sentiment, it may be in all the future an asylum where he who has wandered and wept from his childhood may again exult in the smoke of his village; and again—

"Shall drink at noon

The palm's rich nectar, and lie down at eve

In the green pastures of remembered days,

And wake to wander and to weep no more

On Congo's mountain coast, or Gambia's golden shore."

It seems to me that we are called to renewed activity by these considerations. We may not labor *there*, but *here* we are required to toil. The fashioning of the blocks and beams at a distance permitted of old the erection of the temple at Jerusalem without noise or hammer. May we not here prepare the timber of African liberty? White men must be excluded from the mission field, and also very largely from commercial activity. But the character of the work, the overabundant resources, the remunerative gains will attract the world. Why shall

not men of color step in and reap all these advantages? Why should not a people, generous and just, who have heretofore profited by the unrequited toil of enforced bondage, provide the opportunity and the means for their so doing? I know that colored men have a perfect right to dwell here; I know that freedom has been won for them and citizenship granted them. It may be that "all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil" was not too large a price to pay for it. I honor and respect the pluck and determination which causes many of them to resolve "to fight it out on the line" of "social recognition;" but I also know the strength and endurance of caste ideas and prejudices. I know that generations must pass away ere ever this (call it prejudice, call it folly, call it sin, if you please) can be done away. It appears where you would least expect it, It has power even over those who pray against it. It will continue even to the distant future a blight and a curse. Over against this it seems to me stands a continent where all possibilities are open, and where no social ostracism can come; a land of freedom and of recognized independence; a land so situate that it may become a highway to the riches and stored wealth of a hitherto unknown continent; a land in which the sad experiences of former disabilities shall be teachers of wisdom, where the lessons of a civilization they have largely promoted shall be helpers in producing more honorable results, and in more equally distributing them; and where there shall be full opportunity of demonstrating all the hopes that they have cherished, and achieving a high destiny. Africa for Africans, but not the "dark continent" from which their fathers were stolen, but Africa explored by Christian zeal, laid open by human endeavor, and a field for the competition of the nations; the spires of Christian churches rising among its palms and banyans, the beaten play ground of village schools upon its shores. Here are the possibilities of realizing a grand future—a period when the jungle and the desert shall blossom with a richer and brighter garniture of beauty than has ever yet greeted her radiant skies; when influences mightier than armies shall conquer her barbarism, and the miserable Caffirs and the reeking Hottentots shall be regenerated and disenthralled, and the wild Arab scouring the illimitable desert shall not be able to outstrip the rattling engine and the rumbling car of commerce, when the oldest and darkest of the continents shall last of all see the great light; the Sphynx interpret the mystery of the civilizations, and the Nile and the Congo, as they pour out their mighty currents into the oceans, shall be highways for Christian commerce under the direction of the sors of those who once were slaves, but who shall be in full possession of the lands, reigning in peace, exacting in righteousness.

LIBERIA'S NEXT FRIEND.

THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT THE

SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

HELD IN

FOUNDRY M. E. CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Sunday Evening, Jan'y 17, 1886,

BY REV. B. SUNDERLAND, D. D.

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WASHINGTON CITY,
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

1886.

DISCOURSE.

Africa! Liberia! What hardship and heroism in our time they represent. The dark Continent! The infant Republic! What memories of the past! What hopes of the future!

Providence turns heavy doors on the smallest hinges. No romance of fiction can equal the wonders of the way in which a divine *purpose* threads its course through all the maze of human history. From the first generations the trend of the human race has been turned hither and thither by things in themselves lighter than a feather.

God first partitioned the land and water and settled the geologic and climatic conditions and then divided the nations to their several estates-- The third part of the Eastern hemisphere, according to tradition, fell to the sons of Ham in whose family there was an ancient curse.

But in the economy of Heaven there is no curse without a blessing--and often the blessing blossoms from the curse! Africa became the asylum of the two greatest figures in the annals of time.

A tear-drop on the cheek of a babe in a reed basket among the rushes of the Nile gave rise to the fortunes of a people out of whom came at last the world's Messiah!

When Christ was born, his infancy, like that of Moses, was sheltered in the land of Egypt. That was the only gate of ingress or egress which remained unshut round a coast of 16,000 miles. The seal of the continent like that of its great pyramid, was left unbroken for centuries.

About 400 years ago, the Portuguese, then the greatest sailors, began to pry around it. Explorations followed. The slave trade, early existing, was vastly augmented, by the discovery of America. Church and State, monarchy and merchandise, joined hands to make it respectable. For the next three centuries European rapacity tore from their native soil the children of Africa and thrust them on the markets of the world.

One day in 1620 a Dutch ship came up the James river and landed the first score of Negro slaves at Jamestown, Virginia. That was the beginning of African slavery in this country, leading to long bondage, to civil war and final emancipation. It is estimated that from 1680 to 1786 England, chiefly, supplied to this country and the West Indies 2,130,000 Negro slaves.

"But there is a soul of good in things evil." One of the most conspicuous uses of this country thus far, was to bring these abject Pagans into contact with our modern civilization and to pack multitudes of them into the Christian church.

About the time of the Revolution, an idea entered the mind of a man in New England that the return of the Negro to the land of his fathers, would be in order. It caught fire and kindled in other minds in various forms in other parts of the country. Years went on and Paul Cuffee, an Africo-Indian, born at New Bedford, rising from poverty and obscurity, to command money and a ship of his own, thought it was time to put this idea in practice. He carried back to Africa in his own vessel 40 of his people costing him the sum of \$4,000. This was in 1815. He seems to have been the first practical colonizationist.

The next year he returned to this country and died. A few months after, the American Colonization Society was born.

Seventy years are gone and Liberia, as she stands to-day, is the result. The Society has measured the allotted span of a human life and it remains now to be seen whether it is moribund or whether like the law-giver of Israel, its "eye is not dim nor its natural force abated."

To the intimate friends of Liberia her story is an oft-told tale. Great speakers at the annual meetings of the American Colonization Society at Washington and at other times and places have pleaded the cause of African colonization. The press has created a literature on the subject of more or less permanent character and value. We have had the narrative, the sentiment, the antiquity, the poetry, the heroism, the sacrifice, the struggle, set before us, copiously, eloquently, and with strong conviction.

The semi-Centennial of the Society was observed in 1867 and marked an epoch in its history. The volume of the proceedings of that year is accessible to those who would be informed. In addition to the addresses and discourses on that occasion, the book contains a copy of the Liberian Declaration of Independence, the full text of the Constitution of the new Republic, a description of its flag and seal, the inaugural address of the first President of Liberia—Hon. J. J. Roberts, the annual message of President Warner in 1866, together with a list of all the agents and government officials who have acted through and for the American Colonization Society—a table of the emigrants and of the cost of colonization to that date, and lastly the honored names of the original members of the Society.

From these and from very many other documents, one great fact stands out clearly to our view and that is that the whole civilized

and Christian world recognizes the relation of the Government of the United States to that distant infant African Republic as "her next friend."

Thoughtful and philanthropic men have in former times discussed and urged the emancipation of the enslaved blacks, and their removal to the father-land. Upon the broadest basis it has been shown that the people of this country have obligations on this subject of the most serious and controlling character, and when we declare that the United States is in a large historic sense the founder and necessary patron of the Liberian Republic, we assert only what may be known and read of all men.

The contests and suspicions to which the American Colonization Society was subjected in the period prior to 1861, have largely passed away. Emancipation came through a sea of blood, and in the last 25 years "the logic of events" has justified the wisdom of our work and vindicated for all time the name and character of this now venerable organization.

The imperial monarch of Spain, Charles V, issued a Royal license for the importation of African slaves into his American possessions. This was in the year of grace, 1516, just 300 years before the birth of the American Colonization Society, and it opened wide the gates of the slave trade from the western coast of Africa, the horrors of "the middle passage" and all the pains of Christian cruelty.

But Alfonso, the last king on the Spanish throne, whose Royal obsequies were chronicled but the other day, under date of February 11th, 1882, sent the following epistle to Gardner, the then President of Liberia:

"Great and good Friend:

Desiring to give you a public testimony of my Royal appreciation and my particular esteem, I have had special pleasure in nominating you Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic. I am pleased by this action also to furnish new proof of the desire which animates me to strengthen more and more the friendly relations which happily exist between Spain and the Republic of Liberia, and with this motive, I repeat to you the assurance of the affection which I entertain towards you, and with which, Great and Good Friend, I am

Your Great and Good Friend,

ALFONSO."

It is a little stilted and fulsome after the manner of kings, but it sounds cheerily beside the ruthless decree of Charles V.

No man can trace the footsteps of Providence in these latter days without being constantly surprised at the unexpected and marvelous turn of things. The world is more alive to-day than ever—as we discover through constantly accumulating official reports, diplomatic papers, missionary, scientific, exploring, educational and com-

mercial accounts, which are daily concentrating a flood of light upon Africans and Africa. The change on the face of the world—even during the existence of the American Colonization Society, invests its work with a new and transcendent interest. Here at home a race of slaves have been clothed with the franchise of free men and are rapidly being educated in the spirit of our civil and religious institutions, and at this moment seven millions of people of African blood stand confronted with the *future*, and like Saul of Tarsus in the way to Damascus—are compelled to ask—"Lord what wilt Thou have me to do?"

True, there is a divided opinion among them. We have no wish to conceal the facts. There are many men in this country with African blood in their veins who rage at the faintest hint of what they are pleased to term expatriation. They have no special love for this venerable Society. To the prayer of Father Snowden—a colored preacher of Boston many years ago, they would shout a loud "Amen!"

"Oh, Lord, we pray Thee that that seven-headed and ten-horned monster, the Colonization Society, may be smitten through and through with the fiery darts of truth, and tormented as the whale between the sword-fish and the thrasher."

Yet to-day, half a million of Father Snowden's people are seeking light from the "ten-horned monster" and turning a wistful gaze on the far-off fatherland.

The Society has done nothing to bring about this state of things. The only activity in this direction has been information imparted at the request of the Negroes.

But it is said they are all free born now--what more do they want? Why should they go to Africa? Is not America good enough for the colored people?

Answers to these questions are piled up month after month on the table of the Executive Committee of the Society, and we are forced to go over and over them and then lay them aside for want of means to respond effectively and 'thus the years are passing away with too little done. They come from all quarters--as well from New England as from Texas; from New York as from Alabama--and they want to go. Take a specimen case.

The Rev. Mr. Brockenton, pastor of a Baptist church of more than 1,000 members, in Darlington, S. C., evidently a prominent man in his Church, in his State and county and town, in a letter of December 12th, 1884, says, that he, with his family and a large company of his people, wishes to go to Africa for the following reasons:

1. Because I want to continue my good work for the Master.

2. Because I think my Christian influence is more needed there than here. 3. Because the harvest in Africa is great, but the laborers are few. 4. Because my children are trained teachers or mechanics and as such can assist in building up our father-land. 5. Because my condition as a *man* will be better established and my work as a *minister* better appreciated.

Sound and sensible reasons—reasons which are almost daily reiterated by the colored people who are waking up to the question of their future duty and condition.

President Roberts in a public discourse on his last visit to this country said: "I have no disposition to urge my colored brethren to leave the country, but as for me I could not live in the United States."

Professor Freeman of Liberia College while on a visit a few years ago at Pittsburgh, Pa., where he had formerly spent 12 years as a teacher in a college for the education of colored students, was offered strong inducements to remain and resume his former position in that institution, but he refused. The Trustees then asked, "What will you stay for, Freeman?" His reply was in substance this: "I will stay, gentlemen, for what either of you white men would consent to become a Negro for, and live in Pennsylvania and transmit his social status to his children."

But this is not all. Every settlement in Liberia is calling for population from the United States. The Honorable Z. B. Roberts, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court writes as follows: "Sinoe county was planted by your philanthropy in common with the other portions of Liberia. It is heavily timbered, has a fertile soil, a bar for shipping at all seasons of the year and a river abounding in fish including superior oysters. Our evergreen palm-trees lift up their towering heads, waving majestically their glossy limbs and broad leaves, their trunks filled with crimson fruit for home use and for exportation. There is room here for Africa's sons in America to enjoy with us this God-given land. Emigrants are needed—those that will resolve, in coming, to labor for the elevation of themselves, their children and their race. Men whose bosoms swell with a deep love of liberty, mechanics, farmers miners and teachers are greatly desired!"

Liberia is waiting to receive them. The cry is louder than ever. The *basis* of feeling is fast changing among the colored people, and where *before* they had distrust of the motive and influence of Colonization, they now begin to act from higher incentives and grander considerations. The light of this venerable Society is beginning to be comprehended in quarters where it was so long excluded. Emigration by Africans, of Africans and for Africans is coming to be the *pi-broch* of thousands who would hail to-day the means of exodus from

America. It is not simply the selfish gain of which they dream, but an inspiration of Heaven which, like a mighty wind, is filling heart and mind and soul and sense to render aid to the children of the mighty land of Ham.

T. McCants Stewart, one of the young men sent out some two years since to be a professor in the College of Liberia, after a few months sojourn, has returned and published a book in which, while avowing himself to be "not a colonizationist" he nevertheless presents a most powerful argument for emigration. The very matters he exhibits to show the weakness of Liberia, are to us reasons trumpet-tongued why we should at once pour in a tide of emigration upon her waste places—why we should lose no time in "strengthening the things that remain."

Would he have emigration cease? Why, one-half the human race has been in a state of emigration since Abram left Urr of the Chaldees! Emigration to America begun so soon as the Continent was discovered and it has not ceased to this hour. The first necessity of a State is *men*. Napoleon when asked "What France most needed?" replied, "*Mothers!*"

Meanwhile the eyes of Europe are gloating on African possessions as they never did before. In almost every European capital organizations exist encouraged by kings and parliaments or by powerful private wealth which, from one motive or another, are centering their energies upon different portions of the Negro Continent. The great Powers are already dividing their protectorates and planting their standards over the older or newer colonies which their enterprise has established. It is a scramble for territory, for markets for the over-production and manufactures of the leading nations of the world, for commercial adventure, and in part also for scientific research, along with which the Church must toil for the extension of Christianity.

And when, in a material point of view, we consider that Africa controls the diamond market of the world, that it yields vast quantities of gold, that its palm oil is nowhere else to be found, can we wonder that "the mammon of unrighteousness" is looking at it with the eyes of a boa constrictor?

And latest and most surprising of all looms up "the Free State of the Congo."

Here is another marvellous thread of Providence. Many years ago a man begins to publish in the city of New York an insignificant newspaper. Years pass on, the journal grows in size and sinew. A waif floating on the drifting tide of humanity, is put on the staff of the newspaper and becomes a war correspondent. The founder of the

journal dies. His son, more aspiring than the father, looks round for new fields of enterprise. Just then a successor of Mungo Park, an illustrious African explorer, is lost and the world wonders if he is dead. An English journal dreams of what might be done. A scheme to find him enters the brain of the ambitious journalist, and the stray waif, now a sturdy henchman of the Press, is put in charge of the distant search. Livingstone is found and Stanley grows famous in a day!

He went upon a second search, Livingstone died and his mantle fell upon Stanley. He explored the Congo and was feted in England and at the Continental Courts. The effort fruited in the formation of the "International African Association," and the "Free State of the Congo," of which Leopold of Belgium is the head and Stanley the prime-minister. The flag of the "New State" is a field of blue with a golden star. It already floats over twenty-two prosperous settlements, one thousand miles of unobstructed river navigation and a productive contiguous area of 6 millions of square miles, supporting a population of 50 millions of natives. What novel ever had a page to surpass it?

Following this, it is but about a year since that Germany called a vast Conference at Berlin, Bismarck presiding, at which explorers, diplomats and ministers representing all there is of Europe, Turkey and the United States, assisted. Treaties were formed and conditions established among the great Powers vitally affecting Africa and its people, but they were not at all consulted. *Our* representatives were present by direction of our Government and doubtless from the most praise-worthy motives, and they finally become signatories to the work of the Conference. What they did there was large of purpose abounding in philanthropic zeal. But it is the first time in our history when such a thing was ever done. We are a singular people. The nations are coming to know us better, and while in diplomacy we are as exclusive as China itself, we ought not to be at all squeamish when standing as "the next friend" to the little sister on the African coast. It is high time for the people of this country to wake up to the designs of European Powers.

What is the meaning of it all? Does Japheth, no longer satisfied with his portion of the world, intend to supplant and despoil his brother Ham? Is the African slave trade to be followed by subjugation on the soil and a provincial policy as oppressive as the feudalism of the middle ages? Will the pale face encroach on the black man in Africa as he does on the red man in America—leaving extermination to the weaker, and a *black, black* record to the stronger which no tears of repentance can wash away? Is Africa after all not to be ruled by Africans? Is it to be wrenched away from its own sons—to

become only a European dependency, without autonomy or self-existence?

The answer which the American Colonization Society makes to these questions is "Liberia!"—A free Christian Republic already planted in one of the fairest regions of the African Continent—the dangers and difficulties of the beginning overcome, the fears of friends and the jeers of foes passing away—the light of Christian civilization shining there in the midst of Pagan darkness.

This is the answer of the initiatory steps and stages of that enterprise, and of the noble advocates, the self-denying agents and the generous benefactors of Liberia. It is the answer of the first emigrants and emphatically of Elijah Johnson a principal man among them, and whose son is now the President of that Republic. As their designs became known they awakened the opposition of the native tribes and at a moment of great peril from their assaults, the officers of a vessel appearing there offered to assist the colonists against their assailants on condition that they should be granted ten feet square of ground on which to plant the English flag. "No sirs!" cried the old man, "Not an inch. I have long sought a free home for me and mine, I have found it here at last, if we allow you to hoist that flag upon our soil, it will be harder for us to pull it down than it will be to fight the natives!"

What did Washington and Lincoln ever say more heroic?

Aye, and we could trace this answer through all the growth of that colony under the fostering care of our Society—in its declaration of Independence in 1847, in its Constitution and Republican form of government, in its beautiful situation, in the variety and value of its natural products, in the extension of its public domain, in its agricultural and commercial development, in the establishment of education and the Christian religion, in its remarkable state of society considering all the conditions by which it has been so deeply affected, in its great influence upon the suppression of the slave-trade and the uplifting of the native tribes, and finally in the prospect of its future position as the morning-star of African regeneration.

To the schemes of Europe for the possession and control of Africa, we oppose this infant Government which has already demonstrated the two cardinal facts of African capability and African destiny—that is to say—that Negroes are equal to the highest known form of self-government—advancing their institutions by peaceful methods and bloodless contests.

What, then, is the objection to Liberia. Why should she not have free course? Why should her voice be hushed in the conclave of the nations?

1st. It is styled the land of Negroes—an inferior race—with the old family curse upon them—the sons of Ham. It is said that modern evolution has proved “the survival of the fittest” which must ultimately drive them to the wall.

Our answer is that all this is superficial dogma—not to be cured by sending to Liberia a refined and hyper-educated class, too proud or too indolent to take up the task of improvement, and too haughty to mingle with the common people of that country. We say also that if the family curse ever followed that people, it is now high time to maintain that it should be exhausted—to maintain that “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.” And is it not likewise clear that up to this date “the survival of the fittest” in Africa means *the survival* of Africans, and that it will take a long time for evolution to drive two hundred millions of them to the wall? It is equally illusive in the light of history, to talk of “inferior races,” while the fact is that on a broad scale there are no *inferior races*, that is no races incapable of becoming dominant in the world through the development of intrinsic qualities. We must remember that an African civilization is one of the oldest of which we know, standing in the very dawn of history.

2. But then there is the African fever; who is going to encounter that for the sake of Liberia— for the sake of Africa? We have no interest in them. Let them take care of themselves!

Is it not strange that men should be so inveterately hostile to the interest of Christian civilization in a quarter of the globe where others, for sordid gain, are willing to expose themselves to every hazard! We cannot comprehend the stolidity which objects to all exertions from the highest motives and in the same breath smiles upon efforts which arise alone from mercenary considerations. Who ever heard of physical danger extinguishing the spirit of adventure? In 1849 the Isthmus was white with the bones of men rushing for gold into California. But acclimation was possible to the miners, and so the resources of that great coast are being developed. It remains to be seen whether as a rule acclimation is possible to the white man in Africa. Up to this date the climate is deadly—the fever fatal to the Caucasian race. Nobody knows much about it save the single fact that it spares the natives who are usually robust and long lived, with very few diseases; but it furiously attacks white strangers and with rare exceptions never lets up on them, but either kills them or drives them out. It is not so however with the foreign born Negroes, who after the first experience and acclimation, find no further trouble. Now what is the meaning of this? If we heard a voice from heaven, could it speak plainer the will of Him who “di-

vided the nations?' We seem to hear Him saying: "This is why the sons of Ham are black. I have fitted them for the equatorial region and have fixed the climate so that no white race can flourish there. Beware then, ye sons of Japheth. Covet not the land of the Negroes. If you approach those shores for conquest, I have set my tiger in the lowlands. He will spring upon and kill you!" That we take it is the mission of the African fever. It is the watch-dog of Liberia! No wonder the burglars from abroad dislike it—and because they dislike it, we think it is where it ought to be, and doing what it ought to do.

3.- There are evil tidings of Liberia brought by a Naval officer charging that domestic slavery exists *sub rosa* in that Republic; that the citizens secretly encourage it, in some cases buying and working slaves from the native tribes. Some very lofty falsehood is no doubt prevalent. The calumny is refuted by the Constitution and laws of the Republic. A system of apprenticeship does prevail, but the courts severely punish the man who is found dabbling in the loathsome slave customs of the savage tribes, and that slavery exists in Liberia has been so repeatedly and emphatically denied by numerous most competent and credible witnesses, that it becomes a mere question of personal veracity, and when the truth of the case comes to light we have no fear that Liberia will be dishonored. As well might we say because a few old slaves—the legacy of a former generation—still linger in our Indian tribes, or because Coolies from China have been smuggled into the country, that slavery exists in the United States, and that this Government should be abolished as a national nuisance.

4. From a similar source it has been objected that Liberia to-day is going backward, that the second and third generations are relapsing, that there is in the country, and especially in the towns, streets and buildings, an air of retrogression, that the people lack foresight and enterprise, that everything shows them to be a childish race, not worth the pains which Christian philanthropy has expended upon them. In accepting strictures like these, great caution is necessary. No lies are so dangerous as those which are false in the blade and true in the handle. According to the latest reports from Liberia, the business of agriculture and trade is extending with gratifying results, and the value of the annual exports is growing larger year by year. This single fact is a sufficient answer to the libel of retrogression. Nobody pretends that perfection has been reached in Liberia. Nobody pretends that human nature there any more than elsewhere has Eden innocence and virtue. All we claim is that taking everything into consideration, Liberia is a success and will be more and more a success in the future. All beginnings are small, all great

things are born of trouble, why should Liberia be an exception? Suppose some foreign naval officer should land at Alexandria, hurry rapidly through the town, move on to Richmond and down to Norfolk in the same superficial way, and then hasten home and file a report in the navy department that America is on the wane, that the people are thriftless and all looks dilapidated; what should we think of the value of such testimony?

Then put over against this what has been already accomplished, the obstacles surmounted, the difficulties removed, the success attained, and have we not a guaranty for the future in the very fact of the existence of the Republic as it is at the present moment? It is not an easy task to wipe out a people that against such odds from the beginning has made such headway and are stronger to-day than ever. It took our "old thirteen colonies" 150 years to prepare for the assertion of "Independence." It was only about a score of years that saw Liberia advancing from nothingness to take her place in the ranks of sovereign independent States. We think we have here a living germ of nationality destined to survive every vicissitude and become the seed-corn and normal principle of free government and Christian civilization for all Africa.

5. Adverse criticism might fall upon Liberian diplomacy in the settlement of some great questions vitally affecting the fortunes of the Republic. But allowance must be made from the circumstance that a pigmy is brought to face a giant in arbitrament. The final settlement of the North-west boundary of the Republic with all its antecedents is a chapter of public dishonor from which we turn away with a sense of nausea. Talk of diplomacy between the wolf and the lamb! What could Liberia do but submit while the Government of the United States, acknowledged by all the world as "the next friend" of Liberia, after having said that it would regard any injustice done to her "with positive disfavor," was obliged to stand calmly by and to see its umpire snubbed, the arbitration broken off, and forty miles of sea-coast coolly usurped by England and never say a word!

6. Exception might be taken to the fiscal management of the Republic. It cannot be maintained that any giant genius of finance has yet come to the front among the Liberians, and it must be confessed that a cloud of debt hangs over them at this moment which is by no means flattering to their self-consideration. Still, even though upon specious pretexts, they have been despoiled of 40 miles of sea-coast, their credit has not sunken lower than that of this country in the days of Washington. Nor has their currency depreciated beneath the old continental paper which circulated so low that a hatful of it would scarcely purchase a square

meal for a hearty hungry man. All nations have been in debt. Look at the annual budgets of the great Powers to-day. Liberia is not singular in her struggle with the financial difficulties in the first forty years of her national existence. We confidently hope that in her present emergency, some Hamilton or Robert Morris may rise to conduct her in safety through the storm.

7. It has been intimated that the Liberians are frivolous, too fond of dress and show. Considering the plain taste and demure costume of the world's people elsewhere—say for example among “the higher fashionables” of American cities, what an *awful* thing this is! Seriously however, the reliable testimony is that the customs, habits and houses of the Liberians will compare favorably with those of the same class here at home. There are relatively no more drones, dudes or coquettes in the Liberian towns than in the great towns of England or America. The observation is too trivial for further comment.

8. There remains another and more recent report which involves alike the work of this Society and the character of the people in Liberia. It is now insisted to the detriment of our cause that the class of emigrants sent out from this country to populate “the waste places” there is of an inferior character, and that any further effort to supply Liberia with colored people from America is inexpedient and unwise.

We answer this by saying that even if, the charge were strictly true it is no argument against colonization, and no real friend of Africa will use it. On the other hand it ought properly to become a powerful incentive to greater carefulness and exertion.

Of course it could scarcely be otherwise than that out of the whole body of emigrants which this Society has sent there during the last sixty years some may have proved to be bad material. The best human judgment and foresight cannot provide against every contingency, and certainly not in a case like this when culling and selecting individuals is impracticable, when emigrants have to be sent in families, bands, and companies. But taking together the whole mass of the emigrants the charge is libelous and cruel. It is an unjust reflection on the whole work of this Society and should be frowned down by every man who has any proper knowledge of the history and present *status* of Liberia. It stands there to-day a grand germinal point for all manner of progress and improvement, and for the spread of civil and religious institutions over the whole Continent. With such a position and prospect is it possible for Liberia to go backward, or for this Society to cease its efforts, or for this Government to be deaf to the trumpet-call for help in the present juncture?

Liberia has on her south-eastern border a magnificent domain between the Cavalla and San Pedro rivers, the title to which is questioned by England, as though she were preparing on some plausible pretext—perhaps the maturing loan of a million dollars,—to take up another 40 miles of the coast line of the Republic. To prevent this and other hostile contingencies, we need to pour into that quarter of Liberia in the next two years ten thousand of the choicest Africans we have. We cannot do this by the tardy and inadequate aid of private beneficence. The only feasible way is by an appropriation of a million dollars from the Public Treasury voted by Congress and sanctioned by the President under the wisest safe-guards attainable, and for this we ask you to petition. Let it be the voice of the people. Before another year is spent we want to hear the echoes of this appeal from every quarter of the country; we want to reverse the apothegm of Berkley, and say as by this signal of African regeneration, “Hail all Nations!”—“*Eastward* the star of Empire takes its course:”

As well stated in the last Annual Report of the Society, “The lesson taught by all experience is this: That the interior of Africa can be reached and the coast can be effectively occupied for commercial and colonization purposes *but in one way*, and that is through colonies of civilized Negroes, for only they can colonize equatorial Africa and live. But England, France and Germany have no means of securing such colonists. England cannot offer inducements to Negroes in the West Indies to go and build up the waste places of their father-land. Such an exodus would in a few years depopulate the West Indies and reduce some of the wealthiest of those Islands to a poverty-stricken wilderness. She cannot send recaptured Africans from her colonies at Sierra Leone, Gambia or Lagos. They have not enough civilization in its relations to commerce and the industrial arts. France cannot depopulate Gaudaloupe or Martinique to furnish Negroes to the interior of Senegal or Goree. Germany has no colonies of civilized Negroes from which to draw emigrants for her African projects. The only man then available for the great work of opening Africa to commerce and civilization is the Negro of America. He can live there, for it is the *habitat* of his race, and being fully civilized and Christian too, he is the agent, and the only agent that the world contains adapted to this purpose. He has proved his adaptation and efficiency in the work thus far accomplished by the Republic of Liberia.

“It is stated that the British Government have expended immense sums to keep the peace and to promote trade along the route between Sego and Sierra Leone. But the principle of the Liberia estab-

lishment has done more and will do more to keep the peace and promote trade than all the wealth of England, without colonists, can do.

"Now the American Colonization Society is the only organized agency for developing this important influence, and transferring to this vast and productive field the only agents that can profitably cultivate it. The amalgamation of civilized agencies with the indigenous elements is the only statesmanlike and effective mode of solving the problem of African civilization, and the only agencies available for such amalgamation are in the United States."

And I may add, they can be sent without injury to any home interest, whatsoever, and they are ready and anxious to go! Ten thousand of the very best ought to occupy that south-eastern part of Liberia in the next two years. It will cost a million dollars. Where is this million? Just yonder in the vaults of the treasury of the United States.

Why should not this Government come to the rescue now? If ever there was a debt from one people to another this country owes it to the African race. Every consideration of philanthropy, of patriotism and of piety combines to confirm the obligation.

While it is not claimed that Liberia has ever been the *ward* of our Government in any substantial sense, yet its kind offices and its money have been expended in a spirit of friendliness and national comity which entitle it to be held as "the next friend" of that infant nation. The Presidents Jefferson, Madison and Monroe took a special interest in the destiny of the free people of color in this country. During the administration of Jefferson and while Monroe was Governor of Virginia, emancipation and subsequent provision for the Negroes occupied the attention of all Southern statesmen.

When afterwards Monroe became President, by his enlightened interpretation of the act of March 3d, 1819, providing for the return of re-captured Negroes to Africa, he furnished the means by which the work of this Society was practically commenced. By his direction the Navy Department chartered the ship "Elizabeth" giving passage to 86 Negroes. These were "the pilgrim fathers" of Liberia. They were attended by a war vessel and sailed from New York Feb. 5, 1820, just 200 years from the landing of the May Flower at Plymouth Rock.

Cape Mesurado on which stands Monrovia, the capital of the Republic, was purchased from the natives December 15 1821, largely by the individual persistence and intrepidity of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who was sent to explore and select a point for the colonists, and since that day the United States Government has made Liberia the asylum for nearly six thousand re-captured Africans.

Our Government concluded a treaty with Liberia, Oct. 21, 1862. Article 8 of that treaty is as follows: "The United States Government engages not to interfere, unless solicited by the Government of Liberia, in the affairs between the original inhabitants and the Government of the Republic of Liberia, in the jurisdiction and territories of the Republic. Should any U. S. citizen suffer loss, in person or property, from violence by the aboriginal inhabitants, and the government of the Republic of Liberia should not be able to bring the aggressors to justice, the U. S. Government engages, a requisition having first been made therefor by the Liberian Government, to lend such aid as may be required."

How is this for an "entangling alliance!" The Government of the United States has frequently expressed more than a mere interest—memorably in dispatches from the Department of State by Secretary Upshur in 1843, and more recently by Secretary Evarts in 1879, and by Secretary Frelinghuysen in 1882. More than once has the Navy Department responded to the request of this Society by sending Government vessels with distinguished officers to the coast of Africa with friendly designs.

The first message of President Cleveland devotes a well considered paragraph to these great interests in Africa, and we are fain to think from the nature of the man and those he has called around him, that both he and his Cabinet would be favorably disposed toward any legislation by Congress which should be with proper safeguards and conditions framed for the purpose of aiding emigration to the sister Republic.

Can there be any question if Congress were so disposed, as to the constitutionality of an appropriation? While millions are voted for expositions, for subsidies, for school purposes, for internal improvements, for unnumbered charities, for disasters by fire and flood and famine—while the resources of the country are overflowing,—while thousands upon thousands of colored people are anxiously praying for the means of exodus, what possible objection can there be to such an act of magnanimity?

At this moment of all others does it not become us to strengthen the hands of the infant nation? Liberia has recently been cited by international lawyers to prove that communities founded by private persons for industrial and commercial purposes may in the course of time assume sovereign rights.

We have reached a point where nothing will answer but to go forward. If this Society would vindicate its right *to be* in the future there must be placed before it a new and larger purpose, more faith and more energy. Let steps be taken at once to prepare the public

mind and Congress and the entire Government for an onward movement of emigration. Let some adequate plan of action be adopted to bring before the two Houses the question of a generous appropriation. It was the opinion of Mr. Webster, the greatest constitutional lawyer on the American roll of fame, publicly and clearly expressed, that such an appropriation would be legitimate.

In the proceedings of the Society at its annual meeting of 1852, a powerful plea was made by the Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, of Tenn., for the favor and encouragement of the Government in behalf of the work of this Society. President Fillmore and his Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, were both present. At that meeting Mr. Webster presided and in the speech which he made on that occasion, he used this language:

"It appears to me that this emigration is not impracticable. What is it to the great resources of this country to send out 100,000 persons a year to Africa? In my opinion without any violation of the analogies which we have followed in other cases, in pursuance of our commercial regulations upon the same principles as have already been stated by the Hon. gentleman from Tenn., who has addressed the meeting, it is within our constitution—it is within the powers and provisions of that constitution as part of our commercial arrangements, just as we enter into treaties and pass laws for the suppression of the slave-trade."

With many such like words did this great man testify to his convictions, and subsequently when President Lincoln was brought face to face with the question of Negro destiny in this country, he did not hesitate to say that to solve this problem the money of the treasury of the United States should be brought into requisition. In pursuance of his recommendation, Congress took action looking to the colonization of the Negroes of this country, and a large sum of money was appropriated in this behalf. Propositions were made to secure some region south of the United States on the American continent—for in that day Liberian colonization was not so popular as it promises yet to become, and so in a singularly providential manner, the whole project came to nothing. But it serves to show both what was thought of the legitimacy of such appropriations, and how also the best laid schemes are delayed or diverted to give place to the sovereign will of God.

The cry of the desolate is ringing in our ears. From every section of the country where these people are to be found we hear the voice of the exodus. A great home-sickness for Africa has been begotten in the hearts of multitudes, and every wind bears to our ears the pining and the moan.

We owe it to them. The unrequited servitude of 250 years stares at us like a note of hand already long matured. When the Hebrew slaves departed from Egypt they went out loaded with the

gold and jewels of the realm. God sanctioned the deed to give them compensation for their toil—and the same Jehovah is to-day upon the throne to put down one and raise up another. He will see to it that the price is paid. If we now withhold the wages, He will take it from this nation in some other way. The balance is in his hand, and His word to America is "Pay your debt." He gave the Hebrews favor in the eyes of the Egyptians. The same must come to pass for the Negroes. There is with the Supreme Ruler no bankrupt law by which we may escape.

Look at the money now being spent on Africa in promotion of European designs. The richest exchequers are open for diplomacy, for trade, for acquisition. All kinds of firms and monopolies are pouring out their treasures in the hope of gain. Two lines comprising 28 steamships are running from Liverpool to the western coast of Africa. France, Germany, and Portugal have each a monthly line. A belt of Christian missions already engirds the Continent, and the videttes of the grand army of the Church of Christ have even now reached the lake region, the banks of the Zambesi and the Niger and the broad basin of the Congo. All this is being done at immense expense, and the United States in a Governmental capacity stands idly looking on with hands in pocket and purse shut, not appropriating one single dollar to forward the cause of emigration or in proof of the claim and the favor of standing before the nations as the "next friend" of the young Republic.

The unrest of the colored people here, and their eagerness to reach the fatherland, has begun to kindle the keenest interest all along the coast of Africa, both in and beyond Liberia, and an earnest desire prevails to welcome back the children of their fathers.

We have come to a crisis! The land ought to be shaken from centre to circumference on this question. Let the better genius of the Press, that mightiest engine of modern civilization, take up the subject. Let the American Church speak out. Let the massive and ever augmenting cohorts of Methodism, whose camp-fires glow in every nation under heaven, and whose mighty tread is as the angel of God beneath whose feet the rock-ribbed earth is trembling—let the solid army of the Baptists, whose ranks are thick with Converts standing for the defence of the common faith of Israel—let the Episcopalians, whose banners stream upon the rejoicing air and whose altar-fires grow beautiful in the great dawn of the advancing day—let the Presbyterians, the sons of French Huguenots, of Scotch Covenanters, and of Irish Ulster men—mailed with iron shield and stalwart in the heat of battle as the gray crags of Switzerland—let the Congregationalists, whose pilgrim fathers colonized New England's shores

and made the coast one line of freedom's glorious light—in the midst of which their Boston stands to-day—outshining Athens as Christ outshone the Socrates of old—let the Lutheran, whose name recalls the Reformation and makes us hear again the unfettered voice of that intrepid monk who shook the Papal world—let the fervent Quaker, whose illustrious pioneer brought hither the benignant spirit of his Order, and gave title to the "Key-Stone State" and perpetuated his piety in the very name of her magnificent city—let the sectary of every name, Protestant and Romish, join hands together to solicit this grand subsidy of national beneficence. We are paying now at the rate of \$18,000 for a Congressional funeral. Let the flood-gates of petition be opened upon Congress, and from every class and from every corner roll in upon that Body a volume of supplication. Man's extremity is God's opportunity! On this matter likewise the maxim will be true to the letter in the ears of Congress.—"The voice of the people is the voice of God!"

At Waterloo the flails of Napoleon fell heavily and long on the hollow squares of Wellington. "Hard pounding this, gentlemen!" he cried, "but we must pound the longest." At last the moment came and the voice rang like a trumpet in every soldier's fiber, "up guards and at them!" That was the final order—the herald cry of victory! Too long has silence reigned in the camp of this American philanthropy. Too long have the friends of Liberia withheld their last appeal. The hour is come when we must win success with our own nation and demonstrate in a way we have never done before that this Republic is indeed "the next friend" of *that* over yonder, rising as the day-star of African regeneration, and that we are glad and proud of this relationship.

No misgivings—no tremblings—no waverings now! The world is beginning to acknowledge the spirit and methods of this Society and to vindicate by overwhelming testimony the practical wisdom in which it had its origin. If ever in our times the guiding hand of Omnipotence is visible in human affairs, it has been in the labors and results of the American Colonization Society.

I will end therefore as I began—heavy doors on the smallest hinges! If on that night in the church in Georgetown, dimly lighted with tallow candles, where Francis S. Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner," was pleading with silver tongue the cause of colonization, no one could have foretold the transcendent results which have since transpired before our eyes, who shall say that from this very altar around which we gather on this occasion, a flood-tide may not spring which shall roll to the remotest limit of the Republic and rouse a mighty people as with the hand of one man to a new and

grander beneficence and to exertions that shall never cease till over
all the soil of Africa a song responsive to our own shall swell.

And the flag of the stripes and the white star shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave !

AMERICA AND AFRICA.

THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT THE

SEVENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

IN

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

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BY

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DISCOURSE.

Psalms 67: 4.

"O let the nations be glad and sing for joy, for Thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth."

The sovereignty of God is the only source of confidence and praise. Fate, chance, the action and reaction of the forces of nature, the confused struggle of men to accomplish each his own purpose and the presence and influence of spiritual principalities and powers, the more they are considered, increase anxiety and despair. "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the isles be, glad thereof." He rules and overrules; nothing can occur amiss; all things shall accomplish His gracious purposes.

God's sovereignty is recognized in the accomplishment of salvation. The opposition of the devil is in vain. "Against the holy child Jesus, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together," but could do only "whatsoever His hand and His counsel determined before to be done." He, as the Lord over all, defends His church, and leads her to certain victory and universality, notwithstanding all possible combinations for her persecution and annihilation. In His daily providence, "He thinks upon" each, even "the poor and needy." "He causeth all things to work together for good to them that love God." He numbers their hairs, will not permit their feet to slide, answers their prayers, and enriches them with all temporal and spiritual good. "No one is able to pluck them out of His hand." All this is taught in the text, and calls forth songs of praise and confidence even in the darkest hour. Yet special reference is here made to God's sovereignty over nations. In other passages, He is said to determine their rise, peculiar characteristics, bounds and powers, for the sake of His church, for her development, training, enlightenment, reproof, chastening, and final increase, until she shall include and bless all nations. All are embraced in the covenant with Abraham, and shall compose that innumerable multitude which shall praise Christ, as King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

Our text, however, like many in the Psalms, presents, not the God of Providence, but the Sovereign Ruler, who shall govern and judge the nations upon earth. Whatever may be their religions, true or false; their gods, the one living and true, or many imaginary, ma-

terial or devilish ; their forms of government, their ethics, their policy and purpose, "He that sitteth in the heavens" is their only law-giver; their sole executive, who proclaims His decrees and enforces their execution; and He is the only judge who can expound His law and justify or condemn. In the church in the wilderness and in Judea, there was a mercy seat, sprinkled with blood by the High Priest. The kingdom of heaven, established on earth, was "Glory to God in the highest and good will toward men," a proclamation of pardon to every creature. And in the new paradise of God, there will be a rainbow round about the throne, on which is seated the Lamb that had been slain. But the throne set over nations is of dominion and of justice. "The Lord reigns." "Thou shalt govern the nations." "Thou shalt judge the people." His sceptre is "a rod of iron." "He is clothed with majesty." "With righteousness shall He judge the world, and the people with equity." For individuals, both righteous and wicked, there will be a judgment at the last day. Throughout all their probation God deals with them in mercy, by His goodness He leads them to repentance, and by affliction He warns them to seek Him early. But for nations, there is no future retribution. He governs and judges them now. He often delays the final and full execution, nevertheless His every act toward nations is according to equity and justice. "Clouds and darkness are round about Him," the emblems of His mysterious and portentous majesty and power. "Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne." Mercy finds no place here. The laws are right and inflexible, and "every transgression and disobedience receives a just recompense of reward." "Righteousness," not autocratic caprice, nor changing policies, but conformity to eternal essential right, derived from the nature and character of God. "The Judge of all the earth will do right." His law or will, however made known to nations, is determined by this principle. All His providential ruling and overruling, restraining and permitting, is according to righteousness. "And judgment," the administration of justice. Might does not make right to individuals nor to nations. These are not at liberty to form their own policies at pleasure, to maintain peace, to inaugurate war, to subjugate others, or to appropriate their territories—restrained only by the power of other nations singly or combined. Every act is either in accordance with or in violation of God's law. He holds each nation to a strict account, and He gives to each according to its deeds. "Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne." It may be said that this is at variance with the usual conception of God. There is a tendency to unduly magnify the love of God, and to ignore or deny His righteousness and justice. Yet

these are divine attributes as plainly revealed and as essential. Indeed, mercy itself cannot be exercised until God finds a way in which He can be just and justify the ungodly. Christ must 'fulfill all righteousness,' and suffer the full condemnation for sin, before His gospel of pardon and peace can be preached. "God is love," of infinite pity, mercy, and grace, but only in Christ, not out of Christ; in the tabernacle and at the cross, not at Sinai nor before the white throne. Nature teaches His eternal power and godhead. Its laws are inflexible and pitiless in their execution. He who breaks them must suffer the consequences. Fire will not cease to burn when millions of moths fly into it. The avalanche does not turn aside because men build their chalets in its proper path. No account is made of character or motive. The plague slays the self-denying nurses and doctors, as well as the thieves who would rob the dead and dying. In God's dominion over nations are displayed His sovereignty and righteous justice. Even in human governments we have only legislative, judicial, and executive departments, which make, define, and administer law. It is true that a pardoning power is given to the executive, but only because State law is defective, and in its application the innocent sometimes suffer and the guilty receive too heavy a penalty. But in divine law there is no defect, and there can be no mistake in its execution. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." In governors we do not look for nor desire tenderness or pliability, but we must have wisdom, stability of principles, persistency to do rightly and justly without fear or favor. It is because the immutable "Lord reigneth, that the earth rejoices and the multitude of the isles is glad thereof."

This doctrine is verified in all history. The flood, the doom of Sodom, the plagues of Egypt, the wandering in the wilderness, the destruction of the Canaanites, were because the "men had corrupted their way" and "the cup of their iniquity was full." Balaam, as he took up his parable, and Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel, as they uttered woes on the nations, foretold their fates as determined by their rebellions against God, or by their mutual outrages, regarded as sins, transgressions of God's law and will. He will bless the nations which serve Him, but the rebellious will He destroy. History can be interpreted in no other way. If, in modern times, this principle seems not to be applicable, it is only because the end is not yet.

Bearing in mind the conclusion at which we have arrived, let us consider one chapter of our national history. We differ from all other nations in the fact that, while we are, as to origin and permanent characteristics, Anglo Saxons, in our veins flows the blood of all civilized nations. Our vast portals stand wide open, and immi-

gration, unexampled in history, flows into them from all quarters. We welcome all, except the Chinese, to participation in our vast territories, our free institutions, wonderful opportunities, all rights and privileges, in our national life, to complete and perpetual identification. This is not a Siberia to which criminals are transported, nor as formally an asylum to which the religiously oppressed and persecuted may flee. Nor is it a Mecca or a Jerusalem to which multitudes and tribes from time to time go up. It is the home of liberty, where men dwell in unity as one family, whose plenty attracts all men. They come voluntarily in ever increasing numbers, each to claim the rich inheritance offered to all. Here nationalities soon blend and become one people, as streams from distant mountains flow into one sea. There are, however, two notable exceptions. There are two races which had no desire to come into our midst, and cannot depart, who live among us, and are as isolated from each other and from the American people as they were two hundred years ago—the Indian and the Negro.

The Indians, once the untrammelled possessors of all this fair land, have been deceived by baubles, pressed from the coast, step by step, beyond the great river, to the far West, confined within reservations until these are desired by others, held under military control, cheated by Government agents, taught unnatural vices, regarded with contempt, treaties and promises to them broken almost as soon as made, their remonstrances disregarded, when exasperated by intolerable wrongs, their retaliations are visited by new humiliation, robbery, and decimations. No historian has ventured to recount their wrongs. No advocate has attempted to itemize their charges and claims against the nation. No American, through very shame and fear, dare read such documents. Yet every deed of violence has been faithfully recorded and laid before infinite justice. When "the Lord maketh inquisition for blood He remembereth them. He forgetteth not the cry of the humble." "For the Lord God of recompenses shall surely requite."

If we gladly turn from these sad pages of our national crimes, it is only to read another chapter, whose record is still blacker, and whose threatenings are more imminent. I have no intention to detail the crimes and horrors of the slave trade; nor the possible or real wrongs of slavery; nor to inquire who tempted our nation, or whether willingly or unwillingly we received and held Africa's stolen children. We have to do with terrible and undisputed facts. In our colonial history, and during our national existence, until 1808, we encouraged and legalized the African slave trade, and winked at its continuance for many years thereafter. Before 1776 we received over

300,000 Negroes from Africa. When we ceased formally to recognize the trade, we held 1,190,000 slaves. At the breaking out of the late civil war, these had increased, by importation and births, to 4,000,000. And at present there are 8,000,000 Negroes within our borders. It does not concern us to inquire as to England's guilt in this matter. We legalized, encouraged, and profited by this criminal traffic, and have held in involuntary servitude millions of our fellow men. Few, if any, will attempt to justify the means by which they have been procured, nor to deny that the sin lies at our door. But they are here. For 250 years they have been under our laws, civilization, religious ordinances and personal direction and influence, and what has been the result? Their continued isolation is no wrong to them. It is not the result merely of antagonism, prejudice, or difference of condition, but of loyalty to race. For reasons, not clearly understood by us, God has divided men into races, and through all time He has kept these great families distinct. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." They may all worship Him, recognize brotherhood, adopt each other's languages customs, civilization, and occupy together the same territory, but they must remain distinct. Amalgamation of the three great races is not God's will, and has never received any mark of His approbation. Loyalty to race, which holds them apart, is a divinely implanted instinct. Often other means have been used to accomplish the same end. The covenant with Abraham, as understood by his seed, separated them from the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and the Babylonians, during centuries of the closest associations, and preserves them to-day, in all the lands whither they are scattered, a distinct people. Europeans in this land quickly lose their identity, and are merged into our American nation. But the African race must and ought to remain distinct, however they may rise from their present degradation, or demonstrate their ability in every department of life. They have, as a race, a part to perform in the history of the world, a work which God has reserved for them, and which He is beginning to unfold. They must remain a separate people.

What has our supervision of 250 years done for this race? They have received, after a sort, our language. They have learned methods of toil and unquestioning obedience. But physically they are not improved. Intellectually there was no advance until the emancipation, save in a very few individuals, who by some means obtained an education, contrary to our laws; and now there are 73 per cent. of the Negroes who can neither read nor write. These 73 per cent know little more than their forefathers when stoien from dark Africa. It cannot be said that they are incapable. The severity of

the laws found necessary to hold them in ignorance, their present thirst for knowledge, the avidity with which they embrace every opportunity, and the results already attained through very meagre means, all testify to the contrary. Socially and morally the natives of the "dark continent" will compare favorably with them, as to mode of living, respect to rights of property, truthfulness, the inviolability of family ties, and as to purity. The vices and crimes usually associated with the Negroes are not peculiar to that race. If they characterize them in this land, it is chiefly because of the peculiar institution, and methods under which they have been here trained. They retained much of their African superstitions, and have received very little of our holy religion. There are notable exceptions, but as a race these millions are to-day devoid of real Christianity. What has our nation done for them? I speak not of charity, though their condition is pitiable and their needs are great. Their past sufferings and present degradation do appeal powerfully to every heart. Nor do I speak of recompense, though their wrongs be many, aggravated and long continued. It may be well to remember that we are in their debt, that our present policy is not calculated to repay past sufferings and labor, and that there are some injuries for which there can be no compensation. But this is not a case for personal pity, nor for the adjustment of accounts between parties. Contrary to God's law, we constituted ourselves proprietors of this race, and assumed the responsibility of their discipline. And God holds us to an account for our self-appointed task. What have we done for them? Very little of good, and much of evil.

It may be said, we have emancipated them. But the ceasing to do evil, does not undo the evil already done. The freeing of slaves does not justify the capture, transportation, enforced labor, and trials of their forefathers through several generations. Emancipation was a national act, but it was not from love for the slaves, nor desire to do them justice. It was a military necessity and a war measure of the North, and regarded as an outrage and theft by the South. All persons in this land and in others trembled at what might be, and probably would be, the terrible results. It was made without any preparation of the slaves, and when it seemed to be a proclamation of new privations, sufferings and starvation, to a race already burdened with wrongs and an incentive to new crimes. In a moment 4,000,000 slaves, who had been trained to absolute dependence, and provided for, as if helpless children, with each necessity of life, were thrown upon their own resources, without lands, shelter, food, money, or even clothes. No other race has been called to meet such a crisis. That crimes innumerable and fearful were

not committed, that famine and pestilence did not consume them, is to the credit of the despised Negro, who so calmly and successfully stood the terrible test. Egypt let Israel go free from dire necessity, under the lash of the ten plagues. And we, with as little credit, under the scourge of war, emancipated the Negroes.

We have enfranchised them, made them full American citizens, and even eligible to office. We need not inquire how far this is merely a legal fiction; if they be really treated as our fellow citizens; and if they be permitted to exercise the rights thus granted. It is notorious that the ballot was placed in their hands, not for their interests, but to accomplish certain political ends. Nationally it was a dangerous, a suicidal act, and to this race a grievous injury. For rights involve responsibilities—to give sovereignty to those who know nothing of government—to place the ballot in the hands of those who are absolutely ignorant of the interest of our country, the principles of parties, the character of candidates, who cannot even read the names of those for whom they vote—to call them to legislate, execute and judge—is not only a folly, almost inconceivable in an enlightened nation, but also the criminal imposing of duties, the attempt to perform which, or the neglect of which, would be a sin against the nation and against God.

We are educating them. The duties of citizenship involve the claim for education. Adoption gives a child the right to demand the schooling necessary to qualify him for his new station. These cannot be divorced. Education is a prime necessity and an indisputable right. Since the emancipation \$20,000,000 have been contributed for the education of the freedmen, but what is that among so many, and in 25 years? It has brought only a few broken rays into their Egyptian darkness. And this sum has been given by individuals, by benevolent associations and by the church of God. The nation has done nothing for this race as such. It may be said that the several States should attend to the education of their own people. But emancipation, was a national act, whether right or wrong, and it impoverished the Southern States, who cannot be required, in addition to this loss, to educate the Negroes as citizens, to enjoy privileges pledged by the nation, and which these States do not believe should be granted. Pleas and petitions have been offered in their behalf. In their extreme poverty they did not ask for lands nor food, but they have pressed their prayers and demands for education. And for 25 years our nation has made no more response than the dumb idols of Africa.

Their case seems well nigh desperate. The Israelites in Egypt were required to furnish the full tale of bricks, while the necessary

straw was withheld. And these freedmen are burdened with new responsibilities, to develop their acquired manhood, to rise above the imposed degradation of centuries, to establish homes, schools and churches, to become worthy citizens, and to perform the special work given to their race; while almost everything necessary to this Herculean task is denied them. Their environment also is antagonistic, as may be better understood than described. Ishmael and Isaac, though circumcised as fellow heirs of the same covenant, could not dwell as equals in the same house. Sarah was cruel in her method, and Hagar was tearful, but Ishmael could attain unto the blessing promised only by being sent forth. And the seed of the bond woman here is coming to the conclusion that it cannot work out its destiny, and obtain its inheritance in the midst of the seed of the free woman. Notwithstanding all legal fictions, national promises and moral obligations, these two cannot live together as equals. There is no such case in all history. An unrighteous antagonism between the races, an ignoble history, an unjust prejudice, as well as a growing self-respect, an awakening ambition, and a loyalty to race, are causing the blacks to turn from a government indifferent, alike to the claims of divine justice, and to their pleas for security in the exercise of their rights and for training for their citizenship. They are bethinking themselves of the land of their fathers, of the continent given by God to their race, and where their destiny is to be accomplished. This conviction is not at present very general. Nor could it be expected. Patient endurance of wrong has been highly developed by slavery. They have not yet given up faith and hope in the Government. Personally, they have no fatherland, save this in which they are strangers. As a race they can recall no pleasant memories of Africa, or of the middle passage over that track, which, when the sea gives up her dead, will be in greater commotion than any other portion of the secret keeping deep. They have scarcely heard of the Colonization Society, or of Liberia, the Christian Republic of Negroes, whose standing among the Nations is acknowledged, whose fascinating history, fertile lands, free institutions, equal opportunities and unclouded future invite them, where all questions of personal development and race loyalty and work are finding easy and satisfactory solutions. But this knowledge is dawning upon them, and will produce its effects. Already a new demand is heard. For several years they have, unprompted by this Society, sent to our Government petitions, yearly increasing in number and more numerous signed by colored men, praying to be sent to the land of their fathers. Let me interpret them.—We Negroes are in distress. We are burdened with responsibilities which are unendurable in our

present condition. Our American citizenship is, by your indifference and inaction, a sham. Our personal and race obligations cannot be attempted. Our past and present wrongs are crying to God for justice. The storms of vengeance are gathering.* Our presence is endangering the peace and integrity of your nation. Our natural increase, at the rate of 500 per day, 182,500 a year, doubling our numbers in 20 years, is threatening to push you overboard and swamp your Ship of State. Our surplus of population is more alarming than the increasing surplus in your treasury. Already we more than outnumber you in several States. Even now there is a black belt in your midst which we are filling, and from which, because of us, you are rapidly and necessarily departing. With you we cannot form one people, neither can our races dwell together on an equality. You do not want us here. You will do nothing for our relief in this land. Send us back to Africa to do our divinely appointed work. We do not ask for a general and enforced exodus of our race, but that you send those who are now willing to go, and whose education and religious character will not endanger but strengthen the Republic of the lone star, which you have founded. Start the emigration by government aid. And before long our people will leave you to the undisturbed possession of this land, and find their own way across the ocean to work out the redemption of dark Africa.--Many such petitions were presented last year. They were referred to appropriate committees which reported adversely, and nothing further was done. Oh, my country, in this thou art not like Cyrus, King of Persia! Thou art more rebellious than Pharaoh of Egypt!

Thus far we have been considering the sovereignty of God, as He makes known His law to nations in the essential principles of right and wrong. We must, for a few moments, notice His sovereignty as revealed in the unfolding of His purposes. The separate acts of divine providence frequently are utterly inscrutable, and "His ways past finding out." Considered together, they may often sorely try the faith of an Abraham or a David. At times it is wise to refrain from all action "less haply we be found even to fight against God." But as we look through the ages there is no obscurity. There is a manifest unity, which is sometimes called the science of history. There is an order in all events, a definite plan gradually unfolded. Nations appear upon the stage, perform their parts and pass off. Some are very transitory. Others, like Israel, are more permanent. None can doubt God's design in all Jewish history. We know for what purpose Pharaoh and the Egyptians were raised up. Syria, Babylon, Macedonia and Rome, had each its own service to perform. So in more modern times. During the dark ages this continent, for

manifest reasons, was hidden from the world. When the time drew near, and Catholic nations sought new possessions, they were one after another turned aside to the Islands, to Mexico and South America. This land was reserved for Protestant Anglo-Saxons, well taught in the truth and disciplined by severe persecutions; in order that civil and religious liberty might here flourish, far removed from the continued strifes of other nations and from the claims of anti-christ and of the false prophet; that we might demonstrate the theory of free institutions, and national greatness and prosperity, and become the missionary of the Gospel to all lands.

God's designs concerning Africa have long been a hidden mystery. Situated in the centre of the Eastern hemisphere, within easy reach of the highest civilizations of the world, its immense proportions have been long known, and the details of its outlines have been often explored. But it has, through all centuries, remained a dark impenetrable continent. Its territory, resources and inhabitants were utterly unknown. To all nations and persons God has said, ye shall not enter here for any purpose. At its portals, disease and death have kept as strict guard, as the angel with the flaming sword at the closed gate of Eden. Science, commerce and religion have sailed round its borders, have touched here and there on its coasts, but have been unable to overleap the barriers. * It has remained the only inaccessible land on the face of the earth, except the probably bleak and useless North Pole. Yet like the Congo, whose waters force their way for 300 miles into the ocean, there has been a mighty and perpetual stream of Africa's enslaved children poured into the sea of nations. Whatever may have been man's guilt in this matter, it has been permitted, and therefore forms an important part of God's plan concerning Africa. God meant it for good, when Joseph's brethren sold him. The captivity in Egypt was to train a nation, and in Babylon to wean it from heathenism. And for some purpose, God has directed this stream to our coast, and has placed these Negroes under our tutelage. For 225 years, with no interruption, the school term had continued. When suddenly, without any effort on the part of the pupils, and against the wishes and efforts of their masters, there was a change. To the training in the house and in the field were added new courses. They were admitted to every avocation of civilized life, to learn all mechanical, commercial and clerical labor. They were pressed into schools, primary, graded, academic, scientific, collegiate and professional. Religious teachers flocked to instruct them in Christianity. They were made citizens, and were called to take part in making and administering laws. Already twenty-five years have been allotted to this higher education. And where

fore? Can there be a doubt? If so, it vanishes as we look at Africa. A sudden change has also there taken place. That continent so long closed has been thrown open to the gaze of the world. Livingstone and Stanley, those pioneers of religion and science, have astonished all with their glowing reports of its wonderful character and resources. Men of learning are eager for research, commerce is fluttering to hear off the rich produce. European nations have combined to form and maintain a free Congo State in the vast interior, and to secure prosperity by series of forts and by the navigation of its mighty streams. And the church has arisen with new zeal to evangelize the millions of these newly-discovered tribes. Still, over every portal may be read the divine decree "Africa is for Africans." "No admittance for permanent residence, save to the Negro race." "The civilization and envangelization of this continent must be by her own children." Where are the workmen for this arduous and glorious undertaking? In the fields, shops, schools, seminaries and civil offices of America 8,000,000 of them. They have been, unconsciously, under training for 250 years for this very service. Where are the means for their transportation? There is an immense balance due them for past services, wrongs and sufferings. The nation is perplexed with the increasing surplus in its coffers. Where shall they begin the work? In Liberia, a Christian Negro Republic, already established in Africa, where the blacks have demonstrated their ability to govern themselves, to establish and maintain educational, religious and governmental institutions, to gain the recognition of civilized nations, the respect and confidence of heathen tribes, and to begin the redemption of Africa. No student of history can doubt that this is the natural and necessary course of events, the unfolding of God's plan. This is God's will and commandment to our nation, as plainly made known as was the law uttered from Sinai. His purpose cannot be changed. The designed course of His government of nations cannot be turned aside. He speaks in words which cannot be misunderstood. "Let my people go forth, to serve in their own land, in the work which I appointed them." To hesitate is rebellion. "Thou shalt judge the people righteously and govern the nations upon earth." "This is the Lord's doing and marvelous in our eyes."



☼ REASONS FOR EXISTENCE. ☼

THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT THE

SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

HELD IN THE

First Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.

SUNDAY EVENING, JANUARY 13, 1889,

BY

Rev. Robert M. Luther, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENN. AVE., N. W.

1889.

ADDRESS.

"I will say to the North, Give up; and to the South, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." Isaiah xlii, 6.

Mr. President, Members and Friends of the American Colonization Society :

In accepting your most kind invitation to appear before you this evening and address you upon the occasion of the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the founding of the Society, permit me say, in all true humility, that I am profoundly conscious that an honor so great should have found a resting place upon a worthier head than mine.

Who am I that I should stand in the place filled in former years by men, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose?

And yet, that I may strengthen my heart before entering upon my task, may I venture to plead in excuse of my ready acceptance of your invitation to address you, that it was because it awakened in me memories long silent; memories of early years, in which those impressions were formed which longer life has strengthened into conviction, and because of which I did not feel at liberty to refuse a task for which from another standpoint I feel myself wholly incompetent.

Born almost upon the border land of the free States, I was early brought into closest contact with the race for whom I speak to-night. I was cradled in the arms of a black nurse, carried during the tedious invalidism of my earlier years by a faithful old family servant, herself the child of one of that sad band, torn from the African jungles and brought to America among the last of those who were imported into America before the passing of the law prohibiting the slave-trade. From her I heard marvellous tales of the land of her fathers. Full of the superstition which is the religion of her race, she charmed my childish heart with predictions as to my future.

Strangely enough, in one respect at least, they have been verified—perhaps I should say, have wrought out their own fulfilment: for she constantly averred that I should be a great wanderer, should see many countries, and among them Africa. Who may say how much this may have had to do with the wandering career of the homeless lad, who after years of residence in Asia, at last did see Africa indeed, but only saw it; not permitted, as he would gladly have done, to do anything by personal labor for its poor people.

I venture to think that I will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of some of this audience when I say that, in my opinion, those best know the African, who have, like myself, learned to know him through the contact, in early years, with that fine race of household servants, now passing away.

At least, this much I may say, that I should have been more unfitted than I am to speak to you, had my knowledge of the race not begun to be acquired in this way.

I venture to make this explanation also in my own defence; because something that in truth I may say to-night may seem to be severe upon the African, and might be thought to arise either from want of personal knowledge or of personal sympathy.

The memory of the unutterable kindness received in my early years would prevent my speaking a word to-night which is not prompted by a sincere sympathy with that race, and an earnest desire to do what one man can to elevate and to save them.

But enough of personal explanation.

It is quite needless to say that in the various discourses delivered before this venerable Society, almost every phase of its *work* and of its *claims* has been set before the American people. If then I venture to mark out a somewhat new line of discussion, and that one, the most easy of treatment, my apology must be sought in the excellent character of the work of my predecessors in this honorable task.

I have chosen to ask you to consider with me this question, "Why should the American Colonization Society appeal now (any longer) to the benevolence of the American public, or to the cordial support and co-operation of the African race in America?"

Growing out of this will naturally come the question, "Have we a right to ask from the Government of these United States a more decided endorsement and substantial aid in prosecuting our enterprise?"

Is the American Colonization Society, unnecessary in this its 73d year of existence?

It has been the fortune of this Society to prove true those words of our Master—"A man's foes shall be they of his own household." To pass over the senseless and inconsistent, if not malignant, opposition of the members of the old Anti-Slavery Society, who seemed to mark out this Society as the target for their utmost venom, I may speak of the wide-spread misconception of our motives by the very men for whom, for seventy-two years, we have been giving time, money and life itself.

Look at the deathless roll inscribed upon the pages of this noble Society from among the Governors of Liberia alone! Samuel

A. Crozer, Samuel Bacon, John P. Bankson, Jonathan Winn, Joseph Andrus, Jehudi Ashmun, Richard Randall, J. W. Anderson, Thomas Buchanan.

When La tour D'auvergne, the bravest soldier of France, died, it was decreed by his grateful country that his name should still stand recorded upon the regimental books, and that whenever in the calling of the muster roll his name was reached, the oldest and bravest soldier in the regiment responded "dead on the field of honor." It is not one brave man whose name stands recorded here. Dare I call the muster roll of heroes?

And these were white men, who died for Africans.

Can we not to-day appeal to our brethren of the Negro race and say in the words of our Master, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends?"

If a word of mine reaching the ear of the men for whom we labor can beget in them confidence in our motives and assurance of our love, I shall count myself most happy in appearing as the apologist for this honored Society.

But again, it so happens that in the minds of the great body of the American public there is an undefined impression, that this Society has finished its work; that in some way it was so associated with slavery, that when that perished it disappeared.

I have been pained beyond measure to hear from those to whom I have appealed for aid for our cause, the reply: "Why I thought that Society was defunct."

Well, all I have to say, is that it is an exceedingly lively corpse:

Dead? No! Mr. President and brethren, it cannot die while its work is yet undone. So long as there is in America one man of Negro blood who groans under the stigma of his birth; so long as there is one who finds himself trammelled by the inevitable social conditions which have grown into maturity of strength under the necessary relations of our American life—so long as there is one voice lifted to foster race antagonisms or to beget sectional hatred; above all, so long as Africa can truthfully be called the "Dark Continent," and its fruitful soil be desolated by the relentless cruelty of Mohammedanism or the ghastly sorrows of degraded Fetichism—so long shall the mission of the American Colonization Society exist.

When these pass—then it too may pass, and passing, find its requiem swelling upward from sixty millions of regenerated Africans—the gentle minor cadences of its parting hymn borne with the indescribable sweetness of Negro voices, until it mingles with the anthems of a redeemed humanity around the throne of God and the Lamb.

Never was its mission more pertinent and imperative than now.

The war settled many things, but it did not settle the condition of the African in America. It did give him the doubtful right of suffrage, a not unmixed boon to either black or white.

But what did it define as to his position? What did it accomplish for his uplifting?

It was a grand boon that was given him—that of freedom: but would to God that the gift had not ceased there. Would that this great nation had also taken to its heart the people thus enfranchised. Instead of turning them adrift to live or die—would that the wrongs of a century had been righted by giving to the African in America the chance to start in the world with equal privileges and opportunities with his white competitor.

It is that for which this Society pleads, and it is on that ground that it appeals to your aid and help to-night.

It is right and fitting, then, that I should set before this audience a few of the reasons why the American Colonization Society has still a claim upon the sympathies and benevolence of the American public.

And first, let me say, that this Society claims the support and assistance of all Christians because, in its origin, it was so manifestly called of God and appointed to its work. It was the crystallization of unselfishness. It was the triumph of Christianity. For mark you, it was founded without any hope of profit, and was a work of sacrifice for an alien race, by men who had nothing to expect in return.

From its infancy it was the child of Providence. Every step of its work has indicated this.

The man who would be on God's side, must cast in his lot with us.

Let me ask you to look for a few moments at the map of Africa, that you may see with what singular judgment, guided by superior wisdom, the founders of the Colonization Society chose the location of their holy experiment.

A coast line easy of access at any part—not a dangerous reef or shoal on its entire length—seldom, if ever, visited by the fearful tornadoes which ravage the coast to the north and to the south. A belt of lowlands—much narrower than that on the Gaboon district or St. Paul de Loanda.

A country rising almost immediately from the coast by swelling hills, not by precipitous mountains—traversed by passes of gentle grade—each of them capable of being the line of future railways.

A country which at twenty miles from the sea by almost imperceptible gradations has already attained an elevation of one thousand feet—far above the malaria of the lowlands.

A climate notably free from the worst type of African fevers—so

genial, in fact, that even a white man might live there with fewer precautions than our missionaries in the Congo valley are compelled to take.

The native population sparse, it is true, but of a manly type, belonging to the same races which made it necessary for England to send her choicest troops and bravest general to subdue their brethren lying immediately to the southward. England does not throw away her honors, and it was for no slight reason that Sir Garnet Wolseley was raised to the peerage and decorated, for having, with all the resources of England at his back, secured a temporary and unstable peace with men like these in Ashantee.

A region which was aptly described to me by the hero missionary and explorer, Dr. Sims, as the "Garden of Africa"; teeming with the choicest productions of tropical lands—the native home of the coffee plant—which grows wild in its untouched jungles with a luxuriance found elsewhere only in the carefully cultured gardens of Brazil.

I may not speak of the singular series of Divine providences by which this region came to be the chosen spot for this holy experiment. The tale is a twice told one.

I am speaking to a Washington audience—an audience in which I see men with gray hair whose memory must run back to that time when a man counted for more by reason of his manhood than he does in these days of Syndicates and Trusts and Combines. They must recall the graceful form and beautiful face of the young, enthusiastic Stockton, and they must remember that voice, as sweet and gentle and harmonious as the voice of a woman, yet giving indication ever and anon of those tones which could hail the men on the topsail yard in a gale of wind—the voice that rung clear and unmistakable in its decision in that strange scene, when amid the darkness of the gathering storm, and the muttering of the thunder, the first treaty was signed, and the purchase of the first strip of territory was completed.

Liberia waits for such a voice now. With her enemies pressing upon her, menaced by the grasping greed of English covetousness—she wait to hear the voice which will speak *peace* amid the thunder of warring elements.

Shall it come from America?

But again, this Society first recognized, and has always most constantly set before the American people, the grave nature of the race problem arising from the presence of the African in America.

Long before a tithe—yea, a hundredth of our eminent Statesmen dreamed of the vast and complicated problem which confronts us to-day, this Society, by its published utterances, pointed out the menace

to our social order arising from the presence of this swarming population, hostile in feeling and character to our institutions.

It was because of their prophetic insight and their recognition of the dangers that menace us to-day that men of such entirely opposite and conflicting shades of political thought as Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, Samuel J. Mills and John Randolph of Roanoke, placed their names upon the original list of members—the fifty men—in 1816. It has had five Presidents. Listen as I read their names, and you elder men who remember your country's political history, mark how each name is a type of some one of the complex principles of our Republic: Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, James Madison, Henry Clay, and *clarum et venerabile nomen*, John H. B. Latrobe; varied in their opinions as the hues of the Iris—one in the white light of their devotion to God and humanity. What welded these men into one, making them like the fibre of a Damascus blade, woven together in a beautiful harmony of diversity? The high and loyal cavalier, the impetuous Celt, the descendant of Moravian missionaries, Why, it is as if the races which have made history worth the reading had consecrated their choicest representatives to the work of saving that race which for forty centuries has had no history save that written in tears and blood.

I may not enter in the brief space which your courtesy will allow me upon a discussion of the question of the races in America.

It is a problem pregnant with results—possibly even with dangers to the perpetuity of our institutions.

One thing is certain, the day has come when this question can no longer be ignored. I have full faith in the flexibility and adjusting power of our national life. Its elasticity has rendered harmless many a blow which would otherwise have wrecked the nation.

But in one point at least it seems to fail. The social condition of the Negro to-day is no whit different from what it was twenty-five years ago. He is no nearer absorption into the body of the nation. He stands apart now as he did then, no nearer to us—farther off even in some respects than he was when the Civil War set him free.

Now this Society recognizes this fact. It deplores it, but it does not stand wailing and wringing its hands in an impotent spasm of benevolent sympathy. It speaks no uncertain mumblings of helpless condolence. It says to him, "Be a man! and we will help you to manhood. If you cannot face your obstacles here, seek another clime where you will not have these obstacles to contend with. Do not bow your head like a bulrush in Egypt, seek the Canaan of your inheritance—the land of your fathers—a land where you can give vent to the powers which have been crushed and repressed by your

social condition here. And we will help you to all this—we will stand as your supporters until you can go alone—we will give you the opportunity which God meant you should have, but which you cannot have here.”

And this leads naturally to the third ground upon which this Society makes good its claim to the support of all men; viz.: because its design is in the line of recognition of the true ability of the African race. It has recognized and promulgated that policy which is for the best interest of the African in America and in his native land.

It has been said that the African cannot colonize! Well, he has succeeded in colonizing America pretty thoroughly—and under tremendously adverse circumstances.

If the Pilgrim Fathers had entered upon their colonization schemes under such obstacles, history would have been written differently.

But it is said—you have been seventy years in Liberia and the experiment does not seem to succeed. My reply is: It is too soon to pronounce this experiment a failure.

England has an empire in India comprising 260 millions of souls. Its foundations were laid by a trading corporation—the East India Company of merchant adventurers. It has taken two centuries, and has cost not less than two hundred thousand lives to found that empire.

Is it not too soon to decide authoritatively as to the success of this experiment, not of a corporation greedy for gain, but of a company of men whose motto has always been in fact, “*Ad majoram Dei gloriam.*”

Give us time—time to try what the coming race will be and do, time to try the experiment upon a grand scale; to so enlist the American people in the plan and labors of this Society that we may have adequate means at our disposal for our work.

Again, this Society has vindicated its claim to existence, because it has prophetically indicated the grand possibilities of that wonderful Continent which is the scene of its operations.

Unceasingly, has it for seventy years called the attention of the world to the true character of the so-called “Dark Continent.”

Victor Hugo has said that Africa is the Continent of the 20th century: but this Society would have made it the Continent of the 19th century if its voice had been heeded by America.

When its labors began, Africa was regarded as the refuse heap of creation. Since the days of Portuguese explorations, no geographer had attempted to solve its mysteries. On the map of the world it stood with a few unimportant names of doubtful authenticity printed

upon its coast line, and with a vast interior, unmarked by a single geographical character, save that it had in large letters in one place "The Great Desert" and in another "Unexplored Region." Mighty mountain ranges—magnificent lakes—grandly sweeping rivers which now diversify the chart, not one of them was known nor so much as the possibility of its existence suspected.

With singular prophetic insight, the first published utterances of this Society suggested the possibility of "making the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad, and the desert to blossom as the rose." With no guide but their firm faith, the founders of this Society believed that Africa was rich in choicest productions—that it offered a field for commercial enterprises of extensive scope—that it would be found on better acquaintance less desolate and barren than was supposed.

Very moderate utterances these, but of what significance in the light of events during the past ten years? To the redemption of at least a portion of this Continent, American enterprise was invited and the co-operation of the Government of the United States solicited.

To-day Africa swarms with traders, and commercial Companies of colossal proportions are striving for its control. Its lakes and rivers are the highways of trade. Railways are piercing it in various directions and the Continent throbs with a new life.

This Society would have had this mighty work done by America, through her sable sons of African descent—rather than by European adventurers.

Never was a grander offer made to any generation or to any race. Shame to us, as Americans, that in the rush and whirl of this Ethnic and Geographic convulsion—we have allowed ourselves to be quiet lookers on instead of active participants. In this great game of the nations we have been outplayed.

Glance for a few moments at the situation of affairs in Africa to-day. Of the thirty-four millions of square miles in the Continent only four millions remain unappropriated by some European or Asiatic Power, hostile in its genius to the best interests of the African people. On the north lie the unbroken colonies of Arabic or other Mohammedan possessions previous to 1875. We were frequently told by apparently reliable authorities that Mohammedanism is at a stand still. The prevalent opinion was that as a religion it was in its decadence if not indeed moribund. The disastrous war in the Soudan—the overwhelming successes of the Mahdi—the fall of Khartoum and the shameful sacrifice of the heroic Gordon awakened all Europe with a rude shock. England, defeated and humiliated, has virtually

retired from the contest, beaten in numberless fights by men of true Negro blood, led by native generals. The sole armed camp yet retained, (at Suakim) seems to be held by the English merely by sufferance. As to any forward advance in the Soudan, that we have ceased to expect—almost to hope for. Meanwhile the attention of European nations, notably England and Germany, seems to be directed toward making a solid barrier across the Equatorial regions by which the farther advance southward of the Mohammedan tribes may be arrested.

For this purpose the large blocks of territory from the West coast—the Gaboon and the Congo lowlands, to the East coast, Zanzibar district—clear across the Continent, reaching from 10° North latitude to 15° South latitude have been practically annexed by the combined action of Germany, France and England.

But you will say, what of the Congo Free State? Well, it is to be feared, from later developments, that the word *Free* in this high sounding title applies rather to the white foreigner than to the native African. Judged by the history of French domination in Algiers. German rule in the Pacific and English dominion in India, I ask you, as free American citizens, what may we expect from the prevalence of European political ideas in Africa?

What idea has any one of these Governments to present which can for a moment promise help or hope to the Negro? What single feature in the genius of any one of these Governments promises any uplifting of the race into true freedom, or any hope of the development of self-government. It is too late to ask by what right these nations assumed control over the fair territories embraced in their gigantic schemes. The deed is done. Meanwhile, the one nation which stands for Freedom, which presents in the character of its Government the sole hope of the race—which has vindicated its right to exist and justified its claims to the admiration of humanity, stands—pausing—shall I say? Nay—scarcely that. To pause implies a contemplation of the situation. It implies that we are facing the obstacles, debating the problem and determining upon *action*. But it would be too much to say that. To the great mass of our people Africa is not only an unknown country, but an absolutely non-existent land.

May heaven avert the omen! May God forbid that in some unthought of day we should be awakened by dire calamities to the realization of the fact that America's opportunity has gone by.

As I contemplate the situation, I seem to hear ringing through the silent night the accents of that most mournful—that destiny-full exclamation of the servant of God to Esther the Queen: "If thou at this time altogether hold thy peace—then shall enlargement and de-

liverance arise from some other source—but thou and thy father's house shalt be destroyed!"

Well for us if we shall awake! Well for us if we may escape hearing those words of even more bitter import, "If thou hadst known, even thou at least in this thy day the things that make for thy peace. But now they are hidden from thine eyes."

Yet alas! as I speak I catch the murmur of thousands—swelling—ever deeper and yet more deep. Its burden is "What shall my portion be of the public spoil." The deep diapason of the cry "What are my chances for a place in the Cabinet is supplemented by the inharmonious treble of "I am the man for Collector of the port of Babylon," and shrill amid the cadences comes in quavering falsetto, "I must have the post office at Smith's Cross Roads."

What chance to make our voice heard for Africa and the African amid this discord?

Yet for this Society, honorable and venerable, there is nought but the word of the Lord, "Cry aloud and spare not! Lift up thy voice like a trumpet and shew my people their transgression and the house of Jacob their sin." We are not to pause because we have not yet reached the popular ear. It should have been the gladly welcomed task of a free nation to transplant its God-given ideas to another Continent—to have carried the genius of free institutions to another quarter of the globe—to add a new strain to the anthem of humanity.

But that which should have been the task of the nation, has been left to the hands of a single society;—to a band of thoughtful, gentle, perhaps impracticable men, who are too much in earnest to debate possibilities, too full of faith in an over-ruling Providence to count the cost.

What then! Thank God "it is not with Thee to save by the many or by the few." Lamps, pitchers and trumpets were most peaceful and ineffective weapons—yet they wrought deliverance for Israel because they set in the host of the Midianites, every man's sword against his fellow.

But again. This Society makes good its claim to existence and appeals to you as Christians especially for your support because it is so eminently Missionary in its scope and purpose.

One of the objects of this organization—as set forth in its Constitution—"is to promote there (in Africa) the extension of Christianity and Civilization."

And how nobly is it doing this

What more practical and sensible scheme than that proposed in the working plan of this Society can be devised; viz., to send to Africa Christian men who, while supporting themselves, shall preach by the

power of a daily Christian life, as well as by precept, the truths of Christianity.

Thank God ! the men are ready to go.

Will you as Christians, (I appeal to those not members of the Society,) will you give them the chance to go ? The calls are coming to us with increasing urgency and frequency. Let me read one letter.

San Diego, California, Jan. 5th, 1889.

Dear Sir :

My intention is to organize a company with the view of going to Africa. I have one family in this place and others in Texas. As soon as we have completed an organization I will put myself in communication with you.

I am a Minister of the Gospel in the A. M. E. Church, also a shoemaker by trade, a teacher of music in all its branches in theory and practice, and a piano and organ-tuner and repairer.

Four years ago I composed a Sabbath School music book called the "Everlasting Joy," a copy of which I send you by this mail. I am from the famous school of "Leipsic," Germany.

I am a teacher of Languages, German, French, Spanish and Latin. I have followed school teaching for twenty years. I had the honor of being retained by the United States Circuit Court at Waco, Texas, as interpreter of the Spanish language. I refer you to all the Bishops and general officers of the A. M. E. Church, who are well acquainted with me, some of them from boyhood. I have pastored in Georgia, Arkansas, Texas and now in California. I beg you not to think of me as being egotistic, as the simple motive impelling me to this statement is merely to let you know who and what I am.

Hoping this will be received in the spirit in which it is written, I remain yours for the cause,

J. W. Randolph.

Will you aid this man and hundreds of his brethren ? America can ill spare such men, but Africa needs them more. Let us bid them God-speed and send them on their Apostolic mission.

Such are a few reasons why we appeal to you for your support. These are a few of the reasons for our existence.

And now in closing, let me ask you to consider your duty.

1. Help us with your prayers. Make yourselves familiar with the working of this Society.

2. Help us with your alms.

3d. Stand by us as citizens, should we appeal to the general Government for aid in carrying out our great plan.

In the near future, we shall appeal to the Government of these United States to aid in the opening of the many avenues of trade on the west coast of Africa. Give us your support in this appeal.

And now Brethren of the Colonization Society, a parting word.

What is before us as a Society, in the future, no man can tell.

We may fail at last, as men count failure. It may be written in history that this honored Society, after a century of patient effort and endurance, baffled and wearied—its ranks thinned by death—its standard bearers called from the conflict to their reward—its designs frustrated by the greed of men—its principles forgotten in the mad rush for wealth and power, at last gave up its life.

But there is another scene.

"And I saw a great white throne and Him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God."

In that awful hour when, in the fierce light shining from the great white throne, the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed; when the mists which veiled and distorted human actions shall have been dissipated, when the standard of human judgment shall give place to the unutterably just decision of the Judge of all the earth—in that hour may it be for me, may it be for *you*, to lift our heads unshrinkingly and unappalled—in that moment of supreme thought, conscious of this—that we stood for Christ and humanity amid the conflict of this lower world—that we faltered not for an instant—that we gave back not a single step; that we counted not our lives dear unto us, but freely spent our all in giving life and light to the Continent of darkness and death; in lifting up a scarred and blasted humanity until it could catch a glimpse of the fair face of the world's Christ.

Then as the Eternal Day breaks and the shadows flee away, amid the awful silence of the waiting nations shall thrill the accents of the Master: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these *My* brethren, ye have done it unto *Me*!"

THE CONDITION OF LIBERIA.

The following letter has been received at the office of the American Colonization Society from the Rev. Ezekiel E. Smith, United States Minister Resident at Liberia.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Monrovia, December 10, 1888.

Dear Sir: In order to acquaint myself with the condition of the people of Liberia, I have, during the five months that I resided here, closely observed and studied their customs and institutions. I have had the pleasure to meet and converse with, at different times, the President, the members of his cabinet, the chief justice of the supreme court, the judges and officers of the lower courts, the different members of the two branches of the national Legislature, the pastors of many of the churches of the various denominations of the Republic, the faculty of the College and leading educators generally, the merchants, traders, farmers and

mechanics, all of whom seem hopeful and speak encouragingly of the future of Liberia.

But aside from this class of evidence—testimony of interested parties, one might say—I cheerfully state, in addition thereto, what has passed under my own observation. I have visited many of the churches and schools here, and on every occasion I have been made to rejoice at beholding the skill and ability which are being put forth through these channels to disseminate and inculcate those essential requisites of head and heart so necessary to make a man, a people and a nation useful and powerful. I have visited, too, the courts of justice, which I found presided over by men of ability, with the attendance of an array of able attorneys. The business of the courts seem to be dispatched with rapidity and equity. I have had the pleasure also to visit the two branches of the Legislature, each of which assemblies transacts its business in such a way as to impress a looker-on with the fact that its members are indeed interested in the weal of the country and anxious to devise such measures as will inure to the prosperity of its citizens.

I have visited at different times, various settlements along the St. Paul's river, where the hand of industry has been diligently at work, and the once dense forests have been, and are being, converted into delightful farms. If a thing of beauty is a joy forever, certainly must one's joy be endless when once he beholds the beautiful coffee farms along the St. Paul's river. Many of the owners of these farms live comfortably in brick houses, which are furnished with taste. So far as my observations have gone, the citizens are struggling manfully to build up a prosperous people and a grand country. When I behold the glorious results which have been achieved here, I am inspired to believe that there is abundant hope for the future of Liberia. I have rarely heard a sermon or an address since reaching this city in which there was not an urgent appeal for greater effort to be put forth to bring in the native and practically incorporate him in the body politic.

I have just returned from Clay-Ashland, a very prosperous settlement some 15 miles up the St. Paul's river. There was indeed a vast gathering of people, the occasion being the annual meeting of the Providence Baptist Association. There were delivered during the session several able and instructive sermons and addresses. Rev. Dr. E. W. Blyden delivered a very fine address on Saturday, the 8th inst., to a large and appreciative audience. The address was replete with food for thought. On Sabbath morning Rev. R. B. Richardson, the able principal of the Ricks Institute, preached to a large audience an eloquent and forceful sermon, in which he clearly pointed out the true line upon which the Afro-American must move in order to do effective work among the natives. Rev. J. J. Cheeseman preached in the afternoon. Such pertinent discourses delivered at times so opportune must surely bear fruit. Both these men were born here of American parents.

The Legislature is in session, also the quarterly court, hence the representative men of the nation are in the city. The Presbytery of West Africa will convene here on the 12th inst.

Monrovia contains some 4,000 inhabitants, a College building, brick, and a nice brick seminary. The State House and Executive mansion are beautiful stone buildings. There are four large brick church edifices, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian. The residences are generally brick two story buildings. Many of them are not only comfortably but elegantly furnished.

My interest in Liberia and my hopes for a great Negro Republic increases as I grow familiar with the country and its institutions.

With sentiments of high esteem, I am, your obedient servant.

EZEKIEL E. SMITH.

THE AFRICAN PROBLEM, AND THE METHOD OF ITS SOLUTION.

THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT THE SEVENTY-
THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZA-
TION SOCIETY, IN THE CHURCH OF THE COVENANT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 19, 1890,

BY

EDWARD W. BLYDEN, LL. D.

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THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.

Acts xvi. 9.

I AM seriously impressed with a sense of the responsibility of my position to-night. I stand in the presence of the representatives of that great organization which seems first of all the associations in this country to have distinctly recognized the hand of God in the history of the Negro race in America—to have caught something of the meaning of the Divine purpose in permitting their exile to and bondage in this land. I stand also in the presence of what, for the time being at least, must be considered the foremost congregation of the land—the religious home of the President of the United States. There are present, also, I learn, on this occasion, some of the statesmen and law-makers of the land.

My position, then, is one of honor as well as of responsibility, and the message I have to deliver, I venture to think, concerns directly or indirectly the whole human race. I come from that ancient country, the home of one of the great original races, occupied by the descendants of one of the three sons to whom, according to Biblical history, the whole world was assigned—a country which is now engaging the active attention of all Europe. I come, also, from the ancestral home of at least five millions in this land. Two hundred millions of people have sent me on an errand of invitation to their blood relations here. Their cry is, “Come over and help us.” And I find among hundreds of thousands of the invited an eager and enthu-

siastic response. They tell me to wave the answer across the deep to the anxious and expectant hearts, which, during the long and weary night of separation, have been constantly watching and praying for the return—to the Rachels weeping for their children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not—they tell me, “Wave the answer back to our brethren to hold the fort for we are coming.” They have for the last seventy years been returning through the agency of the Society whose anniversary we celebrate to-night. Some have gone every year during that period, but they have been few compared to the vast necessity. They have gone as they have been able to go, and are making an impression for good upon that continent. My subject to-night will be, **THE AFRICAN PROBLEM AND THE METHOD OF ITS SOLUTION.**

This is no new problem. It is nearly as old as recorded history. It has interested thinking men in Europe and Asia in all ages. The imagination of the ancients peopled the interior of that country with a race of beings shut out from and needing no intercourse with the rest of mankind—lifted by their purity and simplicity of character above the necessity of intercourse with other mortals—leading a blameless and protracted existence and producing in their sequestered, beautiful, and fertile home, from which flowed the wonderful Nile, the food of the Gods. Not milk and honey but nectar and ambrosia were supposed to abound there. The Greeks especially had very high conceptions of the sanctity and spirituality of the interior Africans. The greatest of their poets picture the Gods as vacating Olympus every year and proceeding to Ethiopia to be feasted by its inhabitants. Indeed, the religion of some portion of Greece is supposed to have been introduced from Africa. But leaving the region of mythology, we know that the three highest religions known

to mankind—if they had not their origin in Africa—were domiciled there in the days of their feeble beginnings, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

A sacred mystery hung over that continent, and many were the aspirations of philosophers and poets for some definite knowledge of what was beyond the narrow fringe they saw. Julius Caesar, fascinated while listening to a tale of the Nile, lost the vision of military glory. The philosopher overcame the soldier and he declared himself ready to abandon for a time the alluring fields of politics in order to trace out the sources of that mysterious river which gave to mankind Egypt with her magnificent conceptions and splendid achievements.

The mystery still remains. The problem continues unsolved. The conquering races of the world stand perplexed and worried before the difficulties which beset their enterprise of reducing that continent to subjection. They have overcome the whole of the Western Hemisphere. From Behring Straits to Cape Horn America has submitted to their sway. The native races have almost disappeared from the mainland and the islands of the sea. Europe has extended her conquests to Australia, New Zealand, and the Archipelagos of the Pacific. But, for hundreds of years, their ships have passed by those tempting regions, where "Afric's sunny fountains roll down their golden sands," and though touching at different points on the coast, they have been able to acquire no extensive foothold in that country. Notwithstanding the reports we receive on every breeze that blows from the East, of vast "spheres of influence" and large European possessions, the points actually occupied by white men in the boundless equatorial regions of that immense continent may be accurately represented on the map only by microscopic dots. I wish that the announcements we receive from time to time

with such a flourish of trumpets, that a genuine civilization is being carried into the heart of the Dark Continent, were true. But the fact is, that the bulk of Central Africa is being rapidly subjected to Mohammedanism. That system will soon be—or rather is now—knitting together the conquerors and the conquered into a harmonious whole; and unless Europe gets a thorough understanding of the situation, the gates of missionary enterprise will be closed; because, from all we can learn of the proceedings of some, especially in East Africa, the industrial *régime* is being stamped out to foster the militant. The current number of the *Fortnightly*, near the close of an interesting article on “Stanley’s Expedition,” has this striking sentence: “Stanley has triumphed, but Central Africa is darker than ever!”

It would appear that the world outside of Africa has not yet stopped to consider the peculiar conditions which lift that continent out of the range of the ordinary agencies by which Europe has been able to occupy other countries and subjugate or exterminate their inhabitants.

They have not stopped to ponder the providential lessons on this subject scattered through the pages of history, both past and contemporary.

First. Let us take the most obvious lesson as indicated in the climatic conditions. Perhaps in no country in the world is it so necessary (as in Africa) that the stranger or new comer should possess the *mens sana in corpore sano*—the sound mind in sound body; for the climate is most searching, bringing to the surface any and every latent physical or mental defect. If a man has any chronic or hereditary disease it is sure to be developed, and if wrong medical treatment is applied it is very apt to be exaggerated and often to prove fatal to the patient. And as with the body so with the mind. Persons of weak minds, either

inherited or brought on by excessive mental application or troubles of any kind, are almost sure to develop an impatience or irritability, to the surprise and annoyance of their friends who knew them at home. The Negro immigrant from a temperate region sometimes suffers from these climatic inconveniences, only in his case, after a brief process of acclimatization, he becomes himself again, while the white man never regains his soundness in that climate, and can retain his mental equilibrium only by periodical visits to his native climate. The regulation of the British Government for West Africa is that their officials are allowed six months' leave of absence to return to Europe after fifteen month's residence at Sierra Leone and twelve months on the Gold Coast or Lagos; and for every three days during which they are kept on the coast after the time for their leave arrives, they are allowed one day in Europe. The neglect of this regulation is often attended with most serious consequences.

Second. When we come into the moral and intellectual world it would seem as if the Almighty several times attempted to introduce the foreigner and a foreign civilization into Africa and then changed his purpose. The Scriptures seem to warrant the idea that in some way inexplicable to us, and incompatible with our conception of the character of the Sovereign of the Universe, the unchangeable Being sometimes reverses His apparent plans. We read that, "it repented God," &c. For thousands of years the northeastern portion of Africa witnessed a wonderful development of civilization. The arts and sciences flourished in Egypt for generations, and that country was the centre of almost universal influence; but there was no effect produced upon the interior of Africa. So North Africa became the seat of a great military and commercial power which flourished for 700 years. After this the Ro-

man Catholic Church constructed a mighty influence in the same region, but the interior of the continent received no impression from it.

In the fifteenth century the Congo country, of which we now hear so much, was the scene of extensive operations of the Roman Catholic Church. Just a little before the discovery of America thousands of the natives of the Congo, including the most influential families, were baptized by Catholic missionaries; and the Portuguese, for a hundred years, devoted themselves to the work of African evangelization and exploration. It would appear that they knew just as much of interior Africa as is known now after the great exploits of Speke and Grant and Livingstone, Baker and Cameron and Stanley. It is said that there is a map in the Vatican, three hundred years old, which gives all the general physical relief and the river and lake systems of Africa with more or less accuracy; but the Arab geographers of a century before had described the mountain system, the great lakes, and the course of the Nile.

Just about the time that Portugal was on the way to establish a great empire on that continent, based upon the religious system of Rome, America was discovered, and, instead of the Congo, the Amazon became the seat of Portuguese power. Neither Egyptian, Carthaginian, Persian, or Roman influence was allowed to establish itself on that continent. It would seem that in the providential purpose no solution of the African problem was to come from alien sources. Africans were not doomed to share the fate of some other dark races who have come in contact with the aggressive European. Europe was diverted to the Western Hemisphere. The energies of that conquering race, it was decreed, should be spent in building up a home for themselves on this side. Africa followed in chains.

The Negro race was to be preserved for a special and important work in the future. Of the precise nature of that work no one can form any definite conception. It is probable that if foreign races had been allowed to enter their country they would have been destroyed. So they were brought over to be helpers in this country and at the same time to be preserved. It was not the first time in the history of the world that a people have been preserved by subjection to another people. We know that God promised Abraham that his seed should inherit the land of Canaan; but when He saw that in their numerically weak condition they would have been destroyed in conflicts with the indigenous inhabitants, he took them down to Egypt and kept them there in bondage four hundred years that they might be fitted, both by discipline and numerical increase, for the work that would devolve upon them. Slavery would seem to be a strange school in which to preserve a people; but God has a way of salting as well as purifying by fire.

The Europeans, who were fleeing from their own country in search of wider areas of freedom and larger scope for development, found here an aboriginal race unable to co-operate with them in the labors required for the construction of the material framework of the new civilization. The Indians would not work, and they have suffered the consequences of that indisposition. They have passed away. To take their place as accessories in the work to be done God suffered the African to be brought hither, who could work and would work, and could endure the climatic conditions of a new southern country, which Europeans could not. Two currents set across the Atlantic towards the west for nigh three hundred years—the one from Europe, the other from Africa. The one from Africa had a crimson color. From that stream of human beings

millions fell victims to the cruelties of the middle passage, and otherwise suffered from the brutal instincts of their kidnappers and enslavers. I do not know whether Africa has been invited to the celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America; but she has quite as much reason, if not as much right, to participate in the demonstration of that occasion as the European nations. Englishman, Hollander, and Huguenot, Nigritian and Congo came together. If Europe brought the head, Africa furnished the hands for a great portion of the work which has been achieved here, though it was the opinion of an African chief that the man who discovered America ought to have been imprisoned for having uncovered one people for destruction and opened a field for the oppression and suffering of another.

But when the new continent was opened Africa was closed. The veil, which was being drawn aside, was replaced, and darkness once more enveloped the land, for then not the *country* but the *people* were needed. They were to do a work elsewhere, and meanwhile their country was to be shut out from the view of the outside world.

The first Africans landed in this country in the State of Virginia in the year 1619. Then began the first phase of what is called the Negro problem. These people did not come hither of their own accord. Theirs was not a voluntary but a compulsory expatriation. The problem, then, on their arrival in this country, which confronted the white people was how to reduce to effective and profitable servitude an alien race which it was neither possible nor desirable to assimilate. This gave birth to that peculiar institution, established in a country whose *raison d'être* was that all men might enjoy the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Laws had to be enacted by Puritans, Cavaliers, and Roundheads for slaves, and every con-

trivance had to be devised for the safety of the institution. It was a difficult problem, in the effort to solve which both master and slave suffered.

It would seem, however, that in the first years of African slavery in this country, the masters upon many of whom the relationship was forced, understood its providential origin and purpose, until after a while, avarice and greed darkened their perceptions, and they began to invent reasons, drawn even from the Word of God, to justify their holding these people in perpetual bondage for the advantage of themselves and their children forever. But even after a blinding cupidity had captured the generality by its bewitching spell, there were those (far-sighted men, especially after the yoke of Great Britain had been thrown off) who saw that the abnormal relation could not be permanent under the democratic conditions established by the fundamental law of the land. It was Thomas Jefferson, the writer of the Declaration of Independence, who made the celebrated utterance : " Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny than the emancipation of the blacks ; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same Government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit, and opinion have established between them."

For many years, especially in the long and weary period of the anti-slavery conflict, the latter part of this dictum of Jefferson was denounced by many good and earnest men. The most intelligent of the colored people resented it as a prejudiced and anti-Christian conception. But as the years go by and the Negroes rise in education and culture, and therefore in love and pride of race, and in proper conception of race gifts, race work and race destiny, the latter clause of that famous sentence is not only being shorn of its obscurity and repulsiveness, but is being

welcomed as embodying a truth indispensable to the preservation and prosperity of both races, and as pointing to the regeneration of the African Fatherland. There are some others of the race who, recognizing Jefferson's principle, would make the races one by amalgamation.

It was under the conviction of the truth expressed by that statesman that certain gentlemen of all political shades and differing religious views, met together in this city in the winter of 1816-'17, and organized the American Colonization Society. Though friendly to the anti-slavery idea, and anxious for the extinction of the abnormal institution, these men did not make their views on that subject prominent in their published utterances. They were not Abolitionists in the political or technical sense of that phrase. But their labors furnished an outlet and encouragement for persons desiring to free their slaves, giving them the assurance that their freedmen would be returned to their Fatherland, carrying thither what light of Christianity and civilization they had received. It seems a pity that this humane, philanthropic, and far-seeing work should have met with organized opposition from another band of philanthropists, who, anxious for a speedy deliverance of the captives, thought they saw in the Colonization Society an agency for riveting instead of breaking the fetters of the slave, and they denounced it with all the earnestness and eloquence they could command, and they commanded, both among whites and blacks, some of the finest orators the country has ever produced. And they did a grand work, both directly and indirectly, for the Negro and for Africa. They did their work and dissolved their organization. But when their work was done the work of the Colonization Society really began.

In the development of the Negro question in this country the colonizationists might be called the prophets and philosophers; the abolitionists, the warriors and politicians. Colonizationists saw what was coming and patiently prepared for its advent. Abolitionists attacked the first phase of the Negro problem and labored for its immediate solution; colonizationists looked to the last phase of the problem and labored to get both the whites and blacks ready for it. They labored on two continents, in America and in Africa. Had they not begun as early as they did to take up lands in Africa for the exiles, had they waited for the abolition of slavery, it would now have been impossible to obtain a foothold in their fatherland for the returning hosts. The colonizationist, as prophet, looked at the State as it would be; the abolitionist, as politician, looked at the State as it was. The politician sees the present and is possessed by it. The prophet sees the future and gathers inspiration from it. The politician may influence legislation; the prophet, although exercising great moral influence, seldom has any legislative power. The agitation of the politician may soon culminate in legal enactments; the teachings of the prophet may require generations before they find embodiment in action. The politician has to-day; the prophet, to-morrow. The politician deals with facts, the prophet with ideas, and ideas take root very slowly. Though nearly three generations have passed away since Jefferson made his utterance, and more than two since the organization of the Colonization Society, yet the conceptions they put forward can scarcely be said to have gained maturity, much less currency, in the public mind. But the recent discussions in the halls of Congress show that the teachings of the prophet are now beginning to take hold of the politician. It may take many years yet before the people come up to these views, and, therefore,

before legislation upon them may be possible, but there is evidently movement in that direction.

The first phase of the Negro problem was solved at Appomattox, after the battle of the warrior, with confused noise and garments rolled in blood. The institution of slavery, for which so many sacrifices had been made, so many of the principles of humanity had been violated, so many of the finer sentiments of the heart had been stifled, was at last destroyed by violence.

Now the nation confronts the second phase, the educational, and millions are being poured out by State governments and by individual philanthropy for the education of the freedmen, preparing them for the third and last phase of the problem, viz: EMIGRATION.

In this second phase, we have that organization, which might be called the successor of the old Anti-Slavery Society, taking most active and effective part. I mean the American Missionary Association. I have watched with constant gratitude and admiration the course and operations of that Society, especially when I remember that, organized in the dark days of slavery, twenty years before emancipation, it held aloft courageously the banner on which was inscribed freedom for the Negro and no fellowship with his oppressors. And they, among the first, went South to lift the freedmen from the mental thralldom and moral degradation in which slavery had left him. They triumphed largely over the spirit of their opponents. They braved the dislike, the contempt, the apprehension with which their work was at first regarded, until they succeeded by demonstrating the advantages of knowledge over ignorance, to bring about that state of things to which Mr. Henry Grady, in his last utterances, was able to refer with such satisfaction, viz., that since the war the South has spent \$122,000,000 in the cause of public education, and

this year it is pledged to spend \$37,000,000, in the benefits of which the Negro is a large participant.

It is not surprising that some of those who, after having been engaged in the noble labors of solving the first phase of the problem—in the great anti-slavery war—and are now confronting the second phase, should be unable to receive with patience the suggestion of the third, which is the emigration phase, when the Negro, freed in body and in mind, shall bid farewell to these scenes of his bondage and discipline and betake himself to the land of his fathers, the scene of larger opportunities and loftier achievements. I say it is not surprising that the veterans of the past and the present should be unable to give much enthusiasm to the work of the future. It is not often given to man to labor successfully in the land of Egypt, in the wilderness and across the Jordan. Some of the most effective workers, must often, with eyes undimmed and natural force unabated, lie down and die on the borders of full freedom, and if they live, life to them is like a dream. The young must take up the work. To old men the indications of the future are like a dream. Old men are like them that dream. Young men see visions. They catch the spirit of the future and are able to place themselves in accord with it.

But things are not yet ready for the solution of the third and last phase of the problem. Things are not ready in this country among whites or blacks. The industrial condition of the South is not prepared for it. Things are not yet ready in Africa for a complete exodus. Europe is not yet ready; she still thinks that she can take and utilize Africa for her own purposes. She does not yet understand that Africa is to be for the African or for nobody. Therefore she is taking up with renewed vigor, and confronting again, with determination, the

African problem. Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Belgians, are taking up territory and trying to wring from the grey-haired mother of civilization the secret of the ages. Nothing has come down from Egypt so grand and impressive as the Sphinxes that look at you with calm and emotionless faces, guarding their secret to-day as they formerly guarded the holy temples. They are a symbol of Africa. She will not be forced. She only can reveal her secret. Her children trained in the house of bondage will show it to the world. Some have already returned and have constructed an independent nation as a beginning of this work on her western borders.

It is a significant fact that Africa was completely shut up until the time arrived for the emancipation of her children in the Western World. When Jefferson and Washington and Hamilton and Patrick Henry were predicting and urging the freedom of the slave, Mungo Park was beginning that series of explorations by English enterprise which has just ended in the expedition of Stanley. Just about the time that England proclaimed freedom throughout her colonies, the brothers Lander made the great discovery of the mouth of the Niger ; and when Lincoln issued the immortal proclamation, Livingstone was unfolding to the world that wonderful region which Stanley has more fully revealed and which is becoming now the scene of the secular and religious activities of Christendom. The King of the Belgians has expended fortunes recently in opening the Congo and in introducing the appliances of civilization, and by a singular coincidence a bill has been brought forward in the U. S. Senate to assist the emigration of Negroes to the Fatherland just at the time when that philanthropic monarch has despatched an agent to this country to invite the co-operation in his great work of qualified freedmen. This is significant.

What the King of the Belgians has just done is an indication of what other European Powers will do when they have exhausted themselves in costly experiments to utilize white men as colonists in Africa. They will then understand the purpose of the Almighty in having permitted the exile and bondage of the Africans, and they will see that for Africa's redemption the Negro is the chosen instrument. They will encourage the establishment and building up of such States as Liberia. They will recognize the scheme of the Colonization Society as the providential one.

The little nation which has grown up on that coast as a result of the efforts of this Society, is now taking hold upon that continent in a manner which, owing to inexperience, it could not do in the past. The Liberians have introduced a new article into the commerce of the world—the Liberian coffee. They are pushing to the interior, clearing up the forests, extending the culture of coffee, sugar, cocoa, and other tropical articles, and are training the aborigines in the arts of civilization and in the principles of Christianity. The Republic occupies five hundred miles of coast with an elastic interior. It has a growing commerce with various countries of Europe and America. No one who has visited that country and has seen the farms on the banks of the rivers and in the interior, the workshops, the schools, the churches, and other elements and instruments of progress will say that the United States, through Liberia, is not making a wholesome impression upon Africa—an impression which, if the members of the American Congress understood, they would not begrudge the money required to assist a few hundred thousand to carry on in that country the work so well begun. They would gladly spare them from the laboring element of this great nation to push forward the enterprises of civilization in their Fatherland, and to build themselves up on the basis of their race manhood.

If there is an intelligent Negro here to-night I will say to him, let me take you with me in imagination to witness the new creation or development on that distant shore ; I will not paint you an imaginary picture, but will describe an historical fact ; I will tell you of reality. Going from the coast, through those depressing alluvial plains which fringe the eastern and western borders of the continent, you reach, after a few miles' travel, the first high or undulating country, which, rising abruptly from the swamps, enchants you with its solidity, its fertility, its verdure, its refreshing and healthful breezes. You go further, and you stand upon a higher elevation where the wind sings more freshly in your ears, and your heart beats fast as you survey the continuous and unbroken forests that stretch away from your feet to the distant horizon. The melancholy cooing of the pigeons in some unseen retreat or the more entrancing music of livelier and picturesque songsters alone disturb the solemn and almost oppressive solitude. You hear no human sound and see the traces of no human presence. You decline to pursue your adventurous journey. You refuse to penetrate the lonely forest that confronts you. You return to the coast, thinking of the long ages which have elapsed, the seasons which, in their onward course, have come and gone, leaving those solitudes undisturbed. You wonder when and how are those vast wildernesses to be made the scene of human activity and to contribute to human wants and happiness. Finding no answer to your perplexing question you drop the subject from your thoughts. After a few years—a very few it may be—you return to those scenes. To your surprise and gratification your progress is no longer interrupted by the inconvenience of bridle-paths and tangled vines. The roads are open and clear. You miss the troublesome creeks and drains which, on your previous journey,

harassed and fatigued you. Bridges have been constructed, and without any of the former weariness you find yourself again on the summit, where in loneliness you had stood sometime before. What do you now see? The gigantic trees have disappeared, houses have sprung up on every side. As far as the eye can see the roofs of comfortable and homelike cottages peep through the wood. The waving corn and rice and sugar-cane, the graceful and fragrant coffee tree, the umbrageous cocoa, orange, and mango plum have taken the place of the former sturdy denizens of the forest. What has brought about the change? The Negro emigrant has arrived from America, and, slender though his facilities have been, has produced these wonderful revolutions. You look beyond and take in the forests that now appear on the distant horizon. You catch glimpses of native villages embowered in plantain trees, and you say these also shall be brought under civilized influences, and you feel yourself lifted into manhood, the spirit of the teacher and guide and missionary comes upon you, and you say, "There, below me and beyond lies the world into which I must go. There must I cast my lot. I feel I have a message to it, or a work in it;" and the sense that there are thousands dwelling there, some of whom you may touch, some of whom you may influence, some of whom may love you or be loved by you, thrills you with a strange joy and expectation, and it is a thrill which you can never forget; for ever and anon it comes upon you with increased intensity. In that hour you are born again. You hear forevermore the call ringing in your ears, "Come over and help us."

These are the visions that rise before the Liberian settler who has turned away from the coast. This is the view that exercises such an influence upon his imagination, and gives such tone to his character, making him an inde-

pendent and productive man on the continent of his fathers.

As I have said, this is no imaginary picture, but the embodiment of sober history. Liberia, then, is a fact, an aggressive and progressive fact, with a great deal in its past and everything in its future that is inspiring and uplifting.

It occupies one of the most charming countries in the western portion of that continent. It has been called by qualified judges the garden spot of West Africa. I love to dwell upon the memories of scenes which I have passed through in the interior of that land. I have read of countries which I have not visited—the grandeur of the Rocky Mountains and the charms of the Yosemite Valley, and my imagination adds to the written description and becomes a gallery of delightful pictures. But of African scenes my memory is a treasure-house in which I delight to revel. I have distinctly before me the days and dates when I came into contact with their inexhaustible beauties. Leaving the coast line, the seat of malaria, and where are often seen the remains of the slaver's barracoons, which always give an impression of the deepest melancholy, I come to the high table-lands with their mountain scenery and lovely valleys, their meadow streams and mountain rivulets, and there amid the glories of a changeless and unchanging nature, I have taken off my shoes and on that consecrated ground adored the God and Father of the Africans.

This is the country and this is the work to which the American Negro is invited. This is the opening for him which, through the labors of the American Colonization Society, has been effected. This organization is more than a *colonization* society, more than an emigration society. It might with equal propriety and perhaps with greater accuracy be called the African *Repatriation* Society; or

since the idea of planting towns and introducing extensive cultivation of the soil is included in its work, it might be called the African Repatriation and Colonization Society, for then you bring in a somewhat higher idea than mere colonization—the mere settling of a new country by strangers—you bring in the idea of restoration, of compensation to a race and country much and long wronged.

Colonizationists, notwithstanding all that has been said against them, have always recognized the manhood of the Negro and been willing to trust him to take care of himself. They have always recognized the inscrutable providence by which the African was brought to these shores. They have always taught that he was brought hither to be trained out of his sense of irresponsibility to a knowledge of his place as a factor in the great work of humanity; and that after having been thus trained he could find his proper sphere of action only in the land of his origin to make a way for himself. They have believed that it has not been given to the white man to fix the intellectual or spiritual status of this race. They have recognized that the universe is wide enough and God's gifts are varied enough to allow the man of Africa to find out a path of his own within the circle of genuine human interests, and to contribute from the field of his particular enterprise to the resources—material, intellectual, and moral—of the great human family.

But will the Negro go to do this work?

Is he willing to separate himself from a settled civilization which he has helped to build up to betake himself to the wilderness of his ancestral home and begin anew a career on his own responsibility?

I believe that he is. And if suitable provision were made for their departure to-morrow hundreds of thousands would avail themselves of it. The African question, or the

Negro problem, is upon the country, and it can no more be ignored than any other vital interest. The chief reason, it appears to me, why it is not more seriously dealt with is because the pressure of commercial and political exigencies does not allow time and leisure to the stronger and richer elements of the nation to study it. It is not a question of color simply—that is a superficial accident. It lies deeper than color. It is a question of race, which is the outcome not only of climate, but of generations subjected to environments which have formed the mental and moral constitution.

It is a question in which two distinct races are concerned. This is not a question then purely of reason. It is a question also of instinct. Races feel; observers theorize.

The work to be done beyond the seas is not to be a reproduction of what we see in this country. It requires, therefore, distinct race perception and entire race devotion. It is not to be the healing up of an old sore, but the unfolding of a new bud, an evolution; the development of a new side of God's character and a new phase of humanity. God said to Moses, "I am that I am;" or, more exactly, "I shall be that I shall be." Each race sees from its own standpoint a different side of the Almighty. The Hebrews could not see or serve God in the land of the Egyptians; no more can the Negro under the Anglo-Saxon. He can serve *man* here. He can furnish the labor of the country, but to the inspiration of the country he must ever be an alien.

In that wonderful sermon of St. Paul on Mars Hill in which he declared that God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the bounds of their habitation, he also said, "In Him we live and move and have our being."

Now it cannot be supposed that in the types and races which have already displayed themselves God has exhausted himself. It is by God in us, where we have freedom to act out ourselves, that we do each our several work and live out into action, through our work, whatever we have within us of noble and wise and true. What we do is, if we are able to be true to our nature, the representation of some phase of the Infinite Being. If we live and move and have our being in Him, God also lives, and moves and has His being in us. This is why slavery of any kind is an outrage. It spoils the image of God as it strives to express itself through the individual or the race. As in the Kingdom of Nature, we see in her great organic types of being, in the movement, changes, and order of the elements, those vast thoughts of God, so in the great types of man, in the various races of the world, as distinct in character as in work, in the great divisions of character, we see the will and character and consciousness of God disclosed to us. According to this truth a distinct phase of God's character is set forth to be wrought out into perfection in every separate character. As in every form of the inorganic universe we see some noble variation of God's thought and beauty, so in each separate man, in each separate race, something of the absolute is incarnated. The whole of mankind is a vast representation of the Deity. Therefore we cannot extinguish any race either by conflict or amalgamation without serious responsibility.

You can easily see then why one race overshadowed by another should long to express itself—should yearn for the opportunity to let out the divinity that stirs within it. This is why the Hebrews cried to God from the depths of their affliction in Egypt, and this is why thousands and thousands of Negroes in the South are longing to go to the land of their fathers. They are not content to remain

where everything has been done on the line of another race. They long for the scenes where everything is to be done under the influence of a new racial spirit, under the impulse of new skies and the inspiration of a fresh development. Only those are fit for this new work who believe in the race—have faith in its future—a prophetic insight into its destiny from a consciousness of its possibilities. The inspiration of the race is in the race.

Only one race has furnished the prophets for humanity—the Hebrew race; and before they were qualified to do this they had to go down to the depths of servile degradation. Only to them were revealed those broad and pregnant principles upon which every race can stand and work and grow; but for the special work of each race the prophets arise among the people themselves.

What is pathetic about the situation is, that numbers among whites and blacks are disposed to ignore the seriousness and importance of the question. They seem to think it a question for political manipulation and to be dealt with by partisan statesmanship, not recognizing the fact that the whole country is concerned. I freely admit the fact, to which attention has been recently called, that there are many Afro-Americans who have no more to do with Africa than with Iceland, but this does not destroy the truth that there are millions whose life is bound up with that continent. It is to them that the message comes from their brethren across the deep, "Come over and help us."

The Undiscovered Country.

THE SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

DELIVERED IN

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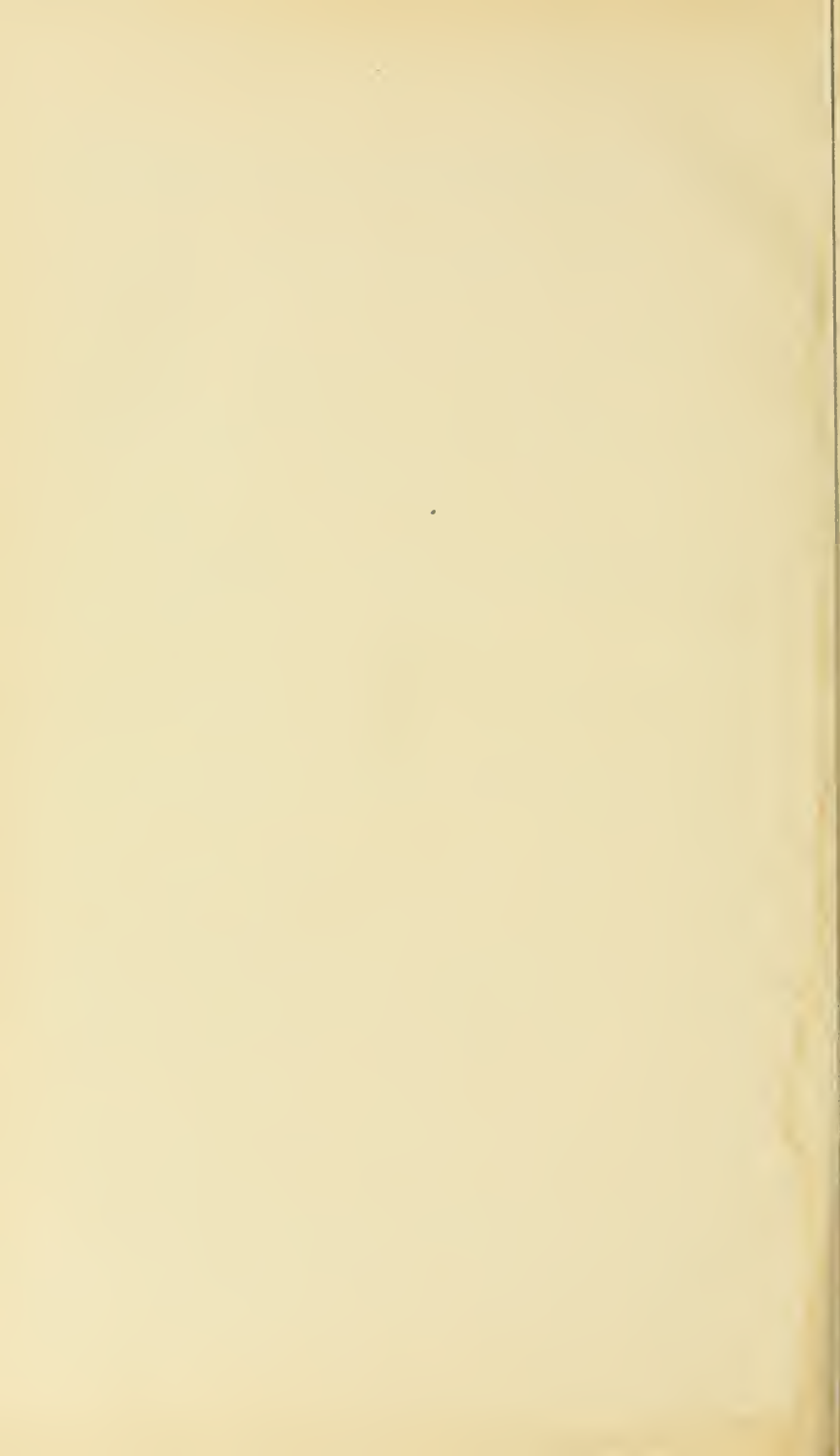
LEIGHTON PARKS, M. A.,

Rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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1891.



THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY.

I. It is seldom that an organization can count its years as more than three score and ten when the whole condition of affairs has changed to such an extent as to have apparently made its continuance unnecessary. When the Colonization Society was founded he would have been imagined a vain dreamer who should have prophesied that slavery would cease to exist on this continent in less than fifty years. Or, had one been found so rash as to utter such a prediction, who would not have felt that if it came true the need of the existence of the Society would cease with the extinction of the evil, the miseries of which it was its purpose to ameliorate?

For, paradoxical as it may seem, the condition of the slave was not as pitiable as that of the freedman in a slave-holding community. For while the slave had some sort of home, and well-defined relations with his fellow-beings, the freedman belonged to no one. No man cared for his soul or body. He was free to support himself where labor was a drug in the market; free to enjoy a liberty which brought responsibility without honor; and separation from his brethren, but no adoption into the ruling class.

It was no wonder that good men hesitated to set their slaves free when such was the outlook. It need not puzzle us when we find that the slaves themselves were so apathetic. Freedom, as they saw it, had few attractions. They preferred to "bear those ills they had than flee to others that they knew not of."

It was this state of affairs which made the Colonization Society a blessing to the country. It provided an asylum for the freedman, and it encouraged the doubtful to take the heroic plunge of freeing their slaves. When true freedom came there was no apathy. When the blacks understood that life was before them to make or mar, exactly as it had been for their masters; when the roving instinct of the savage, so long repressed by the patrol, was given scope, they rose as gladly as any people and rejoiced in the treasure they had found.

It must have seemed to many of its friends then as if the work of the Colonization Society had been accomplished and that it might adjourn *sine die*, with the consciousness that it had acted the part of the Good Samaritan to the man lying by the wayside, beaten and robbed. But through all the years which have elapsed since the war,—so many that when we speak of it our children ask if we mean the Revolutionary War—through all these years there has been something to be done, a sort of paying the charges at the Inn, to return to our figure of the Good Samaritan, and yet a secret feeling that when those who had been the friends of the Society when it was ridiculed by fire-eater and denounced by fanatic had passed away no new men would be found to infuse new vigor into the work.

Suddenly all this has been changed. The right of the Negro, the possibility of the Negro, the relation of the Negro to the white man, which was for so long the one question in American politics—which we had supposed was distinctly a local issue—has suddenly become the greatest of all questions for the civilized world. All eyes to-day are turned to Africa. The opening of the Dark Continent has been the greatest achievement of the last quarter of the century now passing away. It needs no prophet to see that it is to be the cause of great searching of heart amid the nations of the earth in the new century which is drawing near.

The ignorance and blindness, the weakness and pathetic patience of the Negro race, did not appeal in vain to the Judge of all the earth. Here in this city of Washington because of it "the mighty were put down from their seat, and they were exalted of low degree." This was but the beginning. The part played by the Negro in the local history of the United States will be found to have been but the rehearsal for the great drama of the twentieth century.

Here, then, is the new opportunity for your Society. Your voice, which did not cry aloud nor make itself to be heard in the streets, may now speak with authority. Your hand, which fanned the smoking flax and bound up the bruised reed, may now be held up in protest against the iniquities which some of you will see inaugurated before many years have passed.

II. If I am asked why I anticipate such evils for Africa, I answer,

because of the history of the last century and the present condition of affairs.

Professor Seeley, in his "Expansion of England," * says that all the wars which have desolated Europe since the end of the thirty years' war have been wars for colonies. Spain and England, Holland and France, have grappled with one another in Europe for the possession of territory which was unknown to the mass of the people, and scarcely more than a name to the rulers. Whether the influence of the colonies was as great as he supposes may perhaps be a question, but there can be no doubt that the obscure skirmish on the Monongahela, in which the young Washington played a part, set the world on fire, says Parkman; and when the conflict ceased, leaving "the most triumphant peace that England ever knew," † it was found that "three of the victories of the seven years' war determined for ages the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the recreation of Germany; with that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East; with the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States." ‡

A chance encounter of French and Indians in the Wilderness was the signal for the lifting of the curtain on a stage where such figures as Clive and Wolf, Frederick the Great and Washington, were to play their parts. And amid what scenery! The hot plains of India are trampled to dust beneath the ponderous tread of Surajah Dowlah's elephants; the swift canoe of the Indian darts across the waters of Lake George or floats down the broad waters of the St. Lawrence; the veterans of the great Frederick appear as if by magic in Silicia. The scene is shifted, and from the energy of the camp we are shown the luxury of the court. Versailles with all its glories appears before us; a shameless woman the real ruler, the destestible king pouring into her lap the treasures of the kingdom. From behind the scenes is heard from time to time a mocking laugh. It is the voice of the old cynic

* "The Expansion of England," by J. R. Seeley, M. A. London, 1883.

† Montcalm and Wolfe, vol. 1, p. 150.

‡ Greene, History of the English People, IV, 193. Quoted in Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe." Boston, 1884.

Voltaire. Well may he laugh ! For all these glories will pass away.

What is it we learn from this recital of the facts familiar to us all? Why this, apparently. That the blow of an Indian's tomahawk shattered the throne of France, humbled the power of Austria, pulverized the decaying grandeur of Spain, opened a new path for Germany, severed the Eastern and Western possessions of France for England to seize, and cut off a continent from the Empire of Great Britain.

He who doubts of the solidarity of the human race, should re-read the history of the seven years' war. The results of that one red man's deed are so prodigious that we doubt if they can be the effects of so simple a cause, and, indeed, they were not. The murder of Jumonville was but the occasion which caused the pent-up forces to burst forth. It may have been but a single drop of rain which, permeating the soil at the base of Vesuvius, ignited the subterranean acids and caused the great mountain to belch forth its molten lava and destroy the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The lesson of all history, but above all that of the eighteenth century, shows that, given the conditions for a conflagration, it needs but a little fire to kindle the great wood.

The question which we need to ask ourselves is this: Is there or is there not reason to anticipate a new conflagration in the near future, and is it not probable that Africa will be the occasion, if not the cause, thereof?

III. We need only spread the map of Africa before us to see at a glance the position of affairs. England has long held the four cardinal points, and now is master of Egypt and the gateway of the Nile. Germany claims an empire on the east, and France has provinces on all sides except the south. Portugal snarls at England on the west coast and Italy growls at France about possessions in the north. In the heart of Africa is planted the Congo Free State, a power for good as long as the European concert continues, but a prize to the strongest when the great scramble begins. Will it ever begin? If Teutonic firmness and French *finesse* and Italian subtlety are taxed to the utmost to extinguish the sparks that are continually flying across the borders of civilized States before they light on the huge magazines that have

been built in Europe, what is the probability when these momentous issues are complicated by the presence of savages who are ignorant of self-control?

We point with wonder to the result of the organization which will enable a little child to place her finger on a button which will cause the great machinery of an exhibition a thousand miles away to revolve; but there is another power more mysterious still, which so acts on the hearts and brains of men that any day a furious savage on the banks of the Aruwimi may shoot a poisoned arrow and cause a revolution in Russia; many homes to be desolate in England; the roll of drums to be heard through France; the shrill blare of trumpets to scream in Italy; the sabres of Austria to flash, and the dull thunder of the Kaiser's legions to shake the valley of the Rhine, and Europe and Africa to be deluged with blood.

All this is a daily possibility. It was the meeting of the three great powers of the world—England France, and Spain—in the New World which brought on the seven years' war. Africa is the meeting-place to-day, but there are four great powers—England, France, Germany, and Italy—facing one another there, and two—Russia and Austria—sleeping on their arms in Europe.

The result of that conflict on Europe we will not contemplate. I ask you to consider Africa. What must be the result upon her? Imagine two herds of elephants rushing upon one another across a plain where little children are playing, and ask what would be the children's fate! That is the position of the African. Nor is that all. Once let the conflict begin and the Arabs will slip in like serpents between the combatants, and all the horrors of the slave trade, checked for a while, will begin again. The question, then, which confronts us is this: Have we no responsibility in the premises? Have the nations of Europe a right to partition Africa? It is strange that such a question is lost sight of.

It will be answered, the Africans have no right to the exclusive possession of the land any more than the North American Indians had to use this continent as a game preserve. No doubt that is true. The surplus population of Europe has a right to flow into the unused lands of Africa. But on what condition? Only on the condition that they will use it better than the savages who are their neighbors. They must go with the tools accumu-

lated by centuries of civilization. They may not abandon industry. They must carry with them the morals of civilization. They may not break faith with the nations about them and then denounce as devils those who slay them while they sleep or entrap them in the forest. Every man has a right to life, liberty and the enjoyment of his property, even the savage by whom the civilized man settles. But how seldom is that remembered! Think of the wholesale robbery of India by England till the Mutiny taught her that justice paid! Remember that less than thirty years ago the Legislature of Idaho offered \$100 for every Indian warrior's scalp and a proportionate sum for the scalps of women and of children under ten years old! Remember—no, it is present in your minds—the ghastly story of the battle of Wounded Knee. When men ask us if we would stop the onward march of civilization by the opposition of sentiment, we answer, No; but what we do demand is that it shall be civilization which advances, and not a savagery more deadly than that which it seeks to replace because armed with the powers of civilization. We ask that States which plant colonies should see that the laws which protect the weak in Europe should be enforced in favor of Tonquins, Burmese, Africans, and Indians.

Yet see how coolly such a fair minded man as Stanley can contemplate injustice. "We were in camp by noon of the 29th at Congo la Lemba, on the site of a place I knew some years ago as a flourishing village. The chief of it was then in his glory—an undisputed master of the district. Prosperity, however, spoiled him, and he began to exact tolls from the State caravans. The route being blocked by his insolence, the State sent a force of Bangalos, who captured and beheaded him. The village was burned, and the people fled elsewhere. The village site is now covered with tall grass, and its guava, palm, and lemon trees are choked with reeds." *

What had this man done? He had enacted a tariff bill; or, to put it more accurately, he did exactly what Canada has done in regard to goods passing through the Welland Canal. Suppose Montreal were burned in reprisal, should we not have to answer for it? But this poor uninstructed political economist had no

* In Darkest Africa, vol. I. p. 82.

friends, and "tall grass covers the site of his village." "If these things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?"

I have spoken only of what we might call the common law of morals, which is all the State can deal with; but when we consider the settlers as individuals they must be judged by a higher law—the law of Christ. By that law they will be asked not if they treated the savages as if they were human, but whether they looked on them as brothers and tried to live with them as such. I know the difficulties which will be urged. It will be said: "The conflict between the new and the old, progress and retrogression, civilization and savagery, is as inevitable as the conflict between light and darkness. No compromise is possible. The historian of the Old Testament recognized this truth, and said that the Israelites were commanded by Jehovah to exterminate the Canaanites." But such an argument is a moral anachronism. The only possibility for the life of virtue was the extinction of vice, and the only way to extinguish it was by the extirpation of the vicious. Conquest was the watchword of Israel, but conversion is the countersign of Christ's disciples. Faith in conversion, the change from bad to good of any creature on this earth, is the fruit of Jesus' work, and it rests on the knowledge that every son of man is potentially a son of God. That is the faith which has overcome the world.

Every civilized nation which plants a colony in Africa owes the natives the best fruit of its civilization, and every Christian who lands there owes them the revelation which has changed his life. Our civilization has made us the masters of nature; our science has shown us the pit from which we were digged; our religion has shown us the goal of human progress, the likeness of Jesus Christ. The Son of Man is the brother of every human being. Every human being has latent possibilities greater than any except Jesus has dreamed of.

Of course, this is doubted. The phrenologist comes with a skull to show the limitation of Africa's future. The æsthete declares that there has been nothing of beauty made in Africa. The bigot declares that the Negro is under the curse of Canaan. But the cure of pessimism is a knowledge of history. The feeble spark upon which depended human habitation, art and music, literature, science, and religion, never came to its perfection

while isolated from kindred sparks. The glory of Hebrew song had notes that were learned in Egypt and Babylon. Grecian wisdom sprang to full life after the touch of Oriental mysticism brought in the host of Nereus. Roman law made Spain and Gaul and the forests of Germany a fit dwelling place for men. Shakespeare and Bacon, Milton and Cromwell, were the children of Saxon invasion and Roman mission and Norman conquest. The thirteen feeble colonies which once stretched along this coast would never have expanded into a mighty nation but for the incoming of every nation under heaven. This history might all be traced back again. American liberty in France, French influence on all Europe, English missions in Germany, Teutonic power in Italy, Greek culture in Persia. Backward and forward the great tide of civilization has swept, under the secret influence of the heavens, and made the world what it is. But all this time Africa has been like some inland sea, far from the influence of the great currents of life. Is it strange that there has been no progress?

Suppose the little island of England had been isolated in like manner, what would be its condition to-day? Let me quote from a recent speech of the venerable Dr. McCosh :

"They painted their bodies cerulean, often with the figures of animals: they wore long and shaggy hair, and were clothed with skins. They believed in gods many and practiced the mystic rites of the Druids, in which there was nothing to give them moral and spiritual ideas. They offered human sacrifices, which were supposed to be pleasing to the gods. A community, of women, including mothers and daughters, fathers and sons, was the rule of the family. They offered prisoners of war as sacrifices well pleasing to the gods, and in times of danger their best men submitted to death to appease their deities." * Might not this, with slight change be written of the tribes of Africa? Well, that is a description of our British forefathers before the preaching of the Gospel.

IV. The touch of life by life has been the cause of the advance of civilization and Christianity in Europe, Asia and America :

* Extract of speech of Dr. McCosh at the Lake Mohonk Conference, October, 1890. Reported in the Boston Evening Transcript.

and however great may have been the influence of individuals like Augustine, St. Colombo or St. Francis Xavier, or Eliot or Judson or Livingstone, the real force must be the colony, for only in the colony can the brotherly life preached by the heralds be realized.

That is the work which opens before your Society to-day. If Liberia is to be preached as a refuge for the blacks oppressed and denied their rights in the land which their labor has enriched, then, in my judgment, it will meet with but small support; for the American people intend that they shall be given every opportunity open to the ignorant and afflicted of every land to quit themselves like men. And that healthy public opinion which will not simply pass resolutions, but will teach school and preach the Gospel and act as the friend of the Negro, will make the conditions of his life more and more favorable for the development of his manhood in citizenship and Christian fellowship. But if any of them are hearing the voice which bids them, "Go, see whether it be well with thy brethren" (and your report shows that many thousands have applied for passage in the last year), then I say every encouragement should be given them to undertake a work which may have more momentous issues than we can anticipate.

It was the nucleus of the English in the thirteen colonies which held the seed of constitutional liberty until the season was sufficiently advanced to bring it to maturity. Why may not Liberia play the same part in the great drama of which Africa is to be the stage? It is the one colony founded in love and faith. Its only fault has been its weakness. If a steady stream of choice emigrants could flow from this country to Liberia for twenty years, then its financial difficulties would be relieved, its internal improvements pushed to completion, and its commerce extended. Then think what it is we should see? A native Protestant democracy in Africa! Such a state would be indeed an asylum for the oppressed when the great conflict breaks like a tornado over the land. Such a state would be the great radiating sun for the diffusion of light. It would have an advantage which no European colony, such as the Congo Free State, can have, for the presence of white men serves to emphasize the difference between white and black men, whereas the sight of civilized and

Christianized Negroes is a monument of the possibilities of the African race. That that race is to be exterminated by the armies of Europe cannot be believed. It has a future, and that future may be largely influenced by the Republic of Liberia, and the great blessings which her citizens have received, even in the house of bondage, be given the people of Africa.

Of course before such a stupendous work can be contemplated with any definite expectation of success, Liberia must be a much greater power than she is to-day. She needs men, not a mere increase in numbers, but an increase in men of character—men who believe that religion is not a crying of “Lord, Lord,” but the daily doing of “the will of the Father in heaven.” Such men cannot easily be found among those who have behind them centuries of Christian culture. It need not surprise us that the calm and serious character, whose corner-stone is self-control, is not the characteristic of those whose ancestors three generations back were “children of wrath”—the instruments of every unbridled lust in Africa, and whose only training was the tyranny of slavery, having for its motive *obedience*, but from which the liberty of service was necessarily unknown. Still each year increases the number of those who have never felt the blight of slavery; and, while it is true it increases the number of those who have known the corruption of license, it still remains a fact that the world has never seen a race with such a past, showing such good fruit now and better hope for the future. Every year it will be easier to find those who having heard with great exultation Christ’s command, “Call no man your master on the earth,” are listening to his further words, “For one is your Master, even Christ.” One such family in Liberia may be to Africa what Priscilla and Aquila were to Europe, for whom not only Paul “gave thanks, but all the churches of the Gentiles.” To help such on their way is the special work of your Society.

But it cannot end there; Liberia, as well as America, needs common schools—the great nursery of citizenship. For the traditions which have been brought from here will soon perish if an atmosphere capable of receiving and imparting the ideas which are the meat and drink of thoughtful men is not created. This must be the work of schools for boys and girls, and then will come a demand for larger learning, and there, as elsewhere, they that ask will receive.

Above all there is need of the support of the religion of Jesus Christ. How glad we would be to learn that the Liberians had cast away the old party names which speak more of war than of peace, and were engaged in laying the foundation of the church of Africa, modeled not on any American sect, but taking such outward form as its peculiar needs suggest, and filled with the spirit of Christ; training native Evangelist ignorant of Trent, and Westminster, and Dort and Andover, and Lambeth, but knowing much of Wilberforce and Judson, and Corey, and Marsham, and Johnson, and Paterson, and Livingstone—Ah, we are asking more of Liberia than we dare do. Let us hope, however, better things for ourselves and them. What might they not do? What glories might they not reach? Who dare limit the work in Africa?

V. I have called this address The Undiscovered Country. What is it? Almost all of Africa, of the world, is known; only the ice-floes of the north and south remain unexplored; only the details of the picture of the earth remain to be filled in. It is tame work compared with the deeds of the heroic spirits who, from Columbus to Stanley, have pushed into the great mystery, and returned with the treasures of the earth. What remains? Is it not sad to think that the spirit of adventure has exhausted itself; that no new worlds to conquer appear? It would be sad if it were true, but it is not true. The earth beneath our feet is Undiscovered Country. The stars which smile each night upon our ignorance are Undiscovered Country. But greater, more mysterious, more absorbing than all, is the nature of man; its history, its power, its future. That is the great Undiscovered Country which man will yet explore.

We know the general outlines of it in the East. Its characteristics are dignity and patience, but it is ever tending to degenerate to sloth. The North has shown great tenacity of purpose and nobility of aim, but marred by self-satisfaction and coldness of heart. The West is full of energy and ingenuity, but not unmingled with coarseness and selfishness.

Where is a people whose characteristic is a capacity for the reception of the Divine Love, as the East has received the immensity of God and the West His power? May it not be found

among the children of the South? Do you say the suggestion is arbitrary? I answer no. I remind you that the two characteristics of the Negroes in the awful days of the civil war were fidelity and affection; and if it be true that "Zeus takes away half a man's virtue in the day that slavery comes upon him," what may we expect when they enter upon the "liberty of the children of God."

But, indeed, our faith is not empirical, it is scientific. The scientist knows that a field or mountain or plain seen for the first time is essentially natural. It is a part of the great Nature in which he believes, and subject to the same laws which influenced the farm when he was a boy and the garden in which he played. But the great interest of his life is the discovery of the infinite manifestations of the glory of nature.

So we look on man wherever found. We see that the African is human; we know, therefore, that he is subject to the same influences which have moulded men the world over. We believe that he has hid treasures which it will be his joy to become conscious of, and the world's glory to see.

The darker the room, the greater the mystery; the deeper the mystery, the keener the interest; the fuller the interest, the larger the expectation; the larger man's expectation of God's glory, the more intense will be the thrill of joy when God again reveals himself in man. When the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ shines in darkest Africa some feature of the Divine Image will be brought to light which the world has not yet seen.

The Civilization and Conversion of Africa—that is the work which presents itself before this Society. The colonization of Liberia with Negroes, who, feeling that their race has now been called, in the purpose of God, to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, rejoice in the opportunity to be not mere preachers of the Good News, but examples of Christian civilization the like of which has not been seen since the Mayflower brought religious liberty to this continent—perhaps since Augustine led his monks to Canterbury.

May it be the office of your centennial preacher to tell of great deeds done and ripe fruit gathered in the harvest that will surely come.

I have thought that it was my privilege to tell you of the dream of the Old Century, and if it seems to any of you that this dream of the Undiscovered Country of God's glory in man rests upon no reality, I would remind you that it is but the special form of a dream which has filled the world with a new hope.

“Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart: Be strong, fear not; behold, your God will come with vengeance, with the recompense of God; he will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the glowing sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground springs of water. And an highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for the way-faring man; yea, fools shall not err therein. No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast go up thereon; they shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk there; and the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads; they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.”*

Friends of Liberia, when that great work begins in Africa, the slaves of America will speak to us as did Joseph to his conscience-stricken brethren: “I am your brother whom ye sold. Now then be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me, for God did send me to preserve life.”† One more act of earth's tragedy will have been played, and again it will be seen that out of evil God brings good.

* Isaiah, 35: 3-10.

† Genesis, 45: 5.









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